# Daily Report

# Soviet Union

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*FBIS-SOV-87-206* *26 October 1987*

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**Pasko Lauds New Soviet Arms Initiatives**
*LD241634 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 0350 GMT 24 Oct 87*

[Vladimir Pasko commentary]

[Excerpts] Today the international community is marking United Nations Organization Day, the 42d anniversary of the Charter of this, the largest and most authoritative international organization. [passage omitted] Here is commentator Vladimir Pasko.

[Pasko] [Passage omitted, recalling Gorbachev's 15 January statement calling for a nonnuclear world in the 21st century] States and peoples must trust each other and respect international agreements and institutions. This is the political and moral heart of the problem. The Soviet Union has proclaimed its readiness to move on from measures of trust in individual spheres to a full-scale policy of trust, which would gradually shape a universal security system. But this kind of policy has to be based upon unity of political statements and real positions. Our country is giving an example of this kind of unity.

The attention of the world today is drawn to the new Soviet initiatives of Comrade Gorbachev when receiving U.S. Secretary of State Shultz yesterday. With the aim of confirming what has been achieved on the question of the elimination of medium and shorter-range missiles, the Soviet Union has proposed proclaiming a moratorium on all work related to their production, testing, and deployment beginning 1 November. Specific proposals have been tabled with the aim of finding solutions satisfactory to both sides to the question of reducing strategic weapons and prohibiting the placement of weapons into space. In order to strengthen the atmosphere of trust and to stop all allegations that the Soviet Union is violating the ABM Treaty with the construction of the Krasnoyarsk relay station, the Soviet Union is unilaterally imposing a 1-year moratorium on all work being done there. Naturally, we expect a corresponding step concerning the U.S. relay station in Scotland.

There proposals are a major new step on the road to the ideal of creating a nuclear-free world and a universal system of international security, in support of which the participants in the antiwar movement and democratic public are today holding meetings and demonstrations.

**Chernyshev Addresses NATO 'Compensation'**
*LD231628 Moscow TASS in English 1608 GMT 23 Oct 87*

[Text] Moscow October 23 TASS—By TASS military writer Valdimir Chernyshev:

Speaking in Washington, U.S. Defence Secretary Caspar Weinberger said that in case the Soviet-American agreement on intermediate-range and shorter-range missiles is signed, NATO should modernise tactical nuclear arms and strengthen conventional, non-nuclear forces. He made a call for maintaining "a varied spectrum of nuclear capabilities", for increasing the effective range of nuclear delivery vehicles "while improving their ability to penetrate Warsaw Pact air defences".

The speech of the Pentagon's chief indicates that the military-industrial complex of the USA scared of the initial step to be taken in the sphere of nuclear disarmament, is striving already now to place a barrier in the way of the further advance on that track. According to the design of American strategists the deployment of new nuclear forces toward "compensation" for U.S. missiles that are to be eliminated should bring to nought the result of the elimination of a whole class of deadly arms, the precedent that American strategists view as dangerous. They wish thus to prove to the whole world, above all to the public of NATO countries that the efforts towards the reduction of nuclear arsenals are "pointless". The main task of the Pentagon is to ensure that a nuclear burden on humanity is "eternal" and to reject the very idea of a nuclear weapons free world.

It is known that the leading circles of the NATO countries already discuss various versions of "compensation". They envisage, specifically, the deployment in West European countries of an additional number of F-111 fighter bombers, FB-111A medium-range bombers and F-15E fighter planes, the build up of the arsenal of sea-based cruise missiles deployed on U.S. surface ships and submarines sailing off the coasts of Europe, and so on. It is not for nothing that *The Washington Times* noted recently that after the implementation of the agreement on the elimination of intermediate-range and shorter-range missiles the United States will have at its disposal in Europe greater volumes of nuclear weapons than at present. It is easy to agree with the British *News on Sunday* which aptly described such intentions and plans as a swindle, as a trick to deceive the Russians.

Moreover, when drawing up the plans of "compensation" for partially eliminated nuclear weapons, the Pentagon would like to take advantage of the conclusion of the treaty on intermediate-range and shorter-range missiles also for launching a new round of the conventional arms race. Already now Weinberger tries to make Washington's allies in Western Europe accustomed to the need for increasing the allocations for such armaments by declaring that the strengthening of conventional forces "will not be inexpensive".

It should also be noted that it is not only Weinberger who advances in Washington the task of conventional arms build up. Assistant Secretary of State For European Affairs Rozanne Ridgway said a few days ago in an interview broadcast by the USIA "Worldnet" television network that NATO should maintain its conventional arsenal at a contemporary level investing the necessary funds for this, and should assume a greater burden since contemporary technology inevitably requires large expenditures. Special Adviser to the President for Arms Control Matters Edward Rowny writes in an article

published in *The New York Times* the other day that the North Atlantic alliance should continue the measures to intensify and perfect its military potential in the conventional area.

All this does not go together with statements of U.S. officials about their alleged striving for the reduction of conventional armaments.

Thus certain circles beyond the ocean do not want an end to the arms race either in the nuclear, or in the conventional area. The Washington "hawks" continue to ignore the will of peoples.

**Thousands Participate in 'Peace Wave'**
*LD241027 Moscow TASS in English 0957 GMT 24 Oct 87*

[Text] Moscow October 24 TASS—By TASS correspondents:

The "peace wave", which started in Hiroshima today, is moving west on the territory of the USSR. Today by 10 a.m. Moscow time it approached the Ural Mountains, which divides Europe and Asia. Numerous antiwar meetings and rallies were held in cities and towns of the Soviet Far East and Siberia.

Tens of thousands of people in the eastern region of the Soviet Union demonstrated their will for peace in various ways. At noon sharp local time ships in the Far Eastern port of Vladivostok supported the peace action by prolonged blasts and car and bus drivers blew the horns. Young people converged by this time on the park where a rally was held.

In Hakutia at this hour painter Leonid Kim opened an exhibition of his works, which glorified northern nature. The painter decided to contribute the proceeds from the sales of his paintings to the Soviet peace fund. Schoolchildren from Chita transferred to the peace fund proceeds from the sales of souvenirs which were made during one month at several local schools. Today on Saturday workers at some plants in Orenburg put in voluntary hours with the day's wages going to the peace fund as well.

The festival "Rock Music in the Struggle for Peace" opened in the largest city of western Siberia, Novosibirsk. The wave which swept through the eastern regions also came to the south of the Soviet Union. Sports events and theatre performances were held in Central Asian republics — Kirgizia, Uzbekistan and also in Kazakhstan.

## United States & Canada

### Further on Shultz Meetings in Moscow

#### Shultz, Shevardnadze

*PM231337 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 23 Oct 87 Second Edition p 4*

[TASS report under the general heading "Visit of the U.S. Secretary of State"]

[Text] On October 22 talks opened between E.A. Shevardnadze, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and USSR foreign minister, and G. Shultz. The sides are focusing on issues related to the problems of reducing and liquidating nuclear arms, strengthening the ABM Treaty, and other issues pertaining to the area of security.

During the course of today's discussion, which was conducted in a businesslike and constructive spirit, the results of the work that has been done so far by the delegation of the USSR and United States at the Geneva talks on nuclear and space weapons were summed up; particular attention was given to preparing the text of a treaty on the elimination of Soviet and U.S. medium-range and shorter range missiles in the light of the accord in principle attained in this area during the meeting between the USSR foreign minister and the U.S. Secretary of State this September in Washington. In particular, the issues which the delegations have failed to harmonize completely in Geneva were examined in detail. The sides also paid great attention to other steps in the sphere of arms limitation and reduction. In this connection it was stated that progress in the matter of working out an agreement on a 50% reduction of strategic offensive arms could impart a new impulse to the talks across the entire series of the problems of disarmament.

The Soviet side stated that progress in this direction and, moreover, in the nearest future, is possible on the basis of mutual adherence to the principle of equality and identical security, which indisputably presupposes strict observation of the ABM Treaty.

The U.S. side made reservations, evidencing the persistent striving to place the plans for creating [sozdaniye] space arms in the United States outside the framework of the agreement. At the same time, there is understanding about the intensification of work on agreements on strategic offensive weapons and space which would be acceptable to the two sides.

The talks between Eduard Amvrosiyevich Shevardnadze and George Shultz were mainly conducted with a limited number of participants: On the Soviet side—Dobrynin, secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, and Bessmertnykh, USSR deputy foreign minister; and on the U.S. side—Carlucci, and Ridgway, assistant secretary of state.

A plenary session was also conducted in which other officials took part: on the Soviet side—Vorontsov; Dubinin; Karpov, chief of the Deparmtent for Problems of Arms Control and Disarmament of the USSR Foreign Ministry; Stepanov, assistant to the USSR foreign minister; Tarasenko, chief of the general secretariat of the USSR Foreign Ministry; Sukhodrev, deputy chief of the United States of America and Canada Department; and on the U.S. side—Matlock; Nitze and Rowney, special advisers to the U.S. President and U.S. secretary of state on the Geneva talks; Ridgway and Holmes, U.S. assistant secretaries of state; Adelman, director of the U.S. Arms Control and Disarmament Agency; and Kampelman, head of the U.S. delegation at the talks on nuclear and space arms in Geneva.

The ministers formed joint groups of experts which were instructed to discuss and complete the technical aspects of problems whch are the subject of the Moscow talks. The talks will be continued.

Eduard Amvrosiyevich Shevardnadze hosted a luncheon in honor of George Shultz and his party. Yazov, candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and USSR defense minister; Dobrynin, secretary of the CPSU Central Committee: Kamentsev, deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers; leaders of a number of USSR Ministries and departments; participants in the talks on the Soviet and U.S. sides: and other officials attended the luncheon.

On the same day a briefing devoted to the first day of the talks between E.A. Shevardnadze and G. Shultz was held at the USSR Foreign Ministry Press Center. Speaking at the briefing, C. Redman, official spokesman of the U.S. State Department, noted that the USSR foreign minister and the U.S. secretary of state were unanimous in the view that today's meeting took place in a businesslike, constructive atmosphere and that considerable [dostatochnyy] progress had been achieved at the talks.

G.I. Gerasimov, chief of the USSR Foreign Ministry Press Department, agreed with this assessment and emphasized that the Soviet side is in an optimistic mood and sees the main task in completing the work on the preparation of the treaty on the elimination of medium-range and operational-tactical missiles and achieving substantial progress on questions of reducing offensive arms and maintaining the provisions of the ABM Treaty.

### Discussions With Gorbachev

*LD231826 Moscow TASS in English 1812 GMT 23 Oct 87*

[Text] Moscow October 23 TASS—On October 23, Mikhail Gorbachev received in the Kremlin U.S. Secretary of State George Shultz and the persons accompanying him. The conversation covered the most important

aspects of Soviet-American relations and international politics. The results of the talks held yesterday between Eduard Shevardnadze and George Shultz were examined in that context.

Welcoming the guests, Mikhail Gorbachev pointed out the positive significance of the regular character of the contacts and talks between representatives of the governments of both countries. A dynamization of political relations is taking place. The negotiating process is proceeding faster than ever before. And looking back at the whole path traversed from Geneva via Reykjavik to this day it can be said that quite a lot has been done.

Both sides specially noted the significance of Reykjavik, which was a real breakthrough ensuring the line of ascent in the development of Soviet-American dialogue and making it possible to reach the present level of examination of issues. An experience of doing business has been accumulated. The Soviet leadership highly appreciates the contacts with the U.S. President, the systematic meetings between the USSR foreign minister and the U.S. secretary of state. This was not the case during the first years of the current administration.

And now the groundwork has been laid for a search for decisions, an atmosphere of businesslike cooperation has taken shape. It is proceeding with difficulty, not without aggravations, but is proceeding.

Now both sides are aware of the need for placing the talks onto the plane of practical decisions. Specific steps towards each other are also being made. All this has given rise to great hopes in both our countries and the world over, and now specific and big results are expected from the USSR and the USA.

The sides discussed in detail the state of things in preparation for an agreement on medium-range and shorter-range missiles, and expressed mutual confidence of the possibility to conclude it already this year.

In this connection Mikhail Gorbachev stressed that of particularly great significance at the last stage of preparations is elaboration of issues pertaining to stringent control, which is also important for a perspective, bearing in mind the accumulation of experience for subsequently drawing up an agreement on strategic arms. [Moscow Television Service in Russian at 1800 GMT on 23 October carries as part of its regularly-scheduled "Vremya" newscast an announcer-read report on the Gorbachev-Shultz meeting. The television version at this point replaces "pertaining to stringent control, which is also important for a perspective, bearing..." with "pertaining to stringent verification [kontrol], which is also important in the long term, bearing..."] This should be done in such a way that both us and the Americans could be confident of the reliability of observance of the agreements.

To confirm what has been achieved on the issue of the elimination of medium-range and shorter-range missiles Mikhail Gorbachev proposed that from November 1 a moratorium be announced on all work in connection with their production, testing and deployment. The whole world would see that before its legal sealing the agreement already works, demonstrating the degree of consent on that issue.

Yet, he pointed out, the world expects more from the third Soviet-American summit meeting, hoping that the first agreement on nuclear weapons will usher in an even deeper and more substantive process of eliminating the universal nuclear danger. It is from these positions that the Soviet leadership approaches the evaluation of significance of the forthcoming meeting with the U.S. President.

The conversation centered on the issue of strategic offensive weapons. Both sides consider it to be of key significance in an effort to put an end to the nuclear weapons race and for Soviet-American relations.

The secretary of state emphasized that to discuss the issue was the principle aim of his visit to Moscow.

Since the question of reducing strategic arms is closely connected with the problem of non-orbiting weapons, Mikhail Gorbachev came forward with additional specific proposals with a view to finding solutions which would satisfy both sides. The essence of the proposals is as follows: the United States would agree legally to record an obligation not to use the right to withdraw from the ABM Treaty for ten years with strict compliance with the treaty. The Soviet Union would agree to setting limits to the number of warheads on individual types of strategic offensvie arms of the Soviet Union and the United States. In so doing the USSR is prepared to agree—within the framework of an aggregate level of 6,000 warheads on the strategic offensive arms of the sides—to the deployment of not more than 3,000-3,300 warheads on intercontinental ballistic missiles, of not more than 1,800-2,000 warheads on the submarine-launched ballistic missiles, and of not more than 800-900 warheads on air-launched cruise missiles.

With the aims of strengthening the atmosphere of trust and discouraging any talks that the Soviet Union allegedly violates the ABM Treaty through the construction of the Krasnoyarsk radar, Mikhail Gorbachev told Mr Shultz that the Soviet Union would unilaterally introduce a one-year moratorium on all work which had been done there. "Naturally, we expect a similar step with regard to the U.S. radar in Scotland", he said.

Taking these new compromise initiatives into account, Mikhail Gorbachev suggested, without losing time, that the work to coordinate positions in the field of strategic offensive arms and space at the talks in Geneva and at other levels be intensified so that, at a meeting, which is being planned for this year, with the President of the

United States, it would be possible, along with the signing of a treaty on medium- and shorter-range missiles, to record an accord on the key provisions of future agreements on strategic offensive arms and space, which in their turn, could be signed during Ronald Reagan's reply visit to the Soviet Union.

So, an extensive agenda for a summit meeting in Washington would be taking shape in the spirit of the understanding reached during George Shultz's previous visit to Moscow in April this year.

"I hope", Mikhail Gorbachev said, "that one and a half month are enough to work out and duly to prepare all this. I am ready to visit the United States. But so far I am put on my guard by possible results".

The question of the situation in the Persian Gulf was touched upon during the meeting. Referring to Resolution 598 which had been unanimously adopted by the United Nations Security Council, Mikhail Gorbachev drew attention to the fact that the resolution had been also the result of the Soviet-U.S. constructive cooperation on this very acute problem. However, following that, the United States decided to act like it did "in good days of old". "What emerged as a result of cooperation within the U.N. framework is now called in question. This gives rise to disappointment".

"The U.S. naval build up in the Gulf—contrary to Washington's declarations—has made the situation more complex, and not simplified it. The argument that that was necessary to ensure the supply of oil is understandable to us. But we do not understand the ways of action which lead precisely to the opposite result. The Persian Gulf issue is not an isolated one. If such a policy is carried on, it may bury much in the international process, including many things in Soviet-U.S. relations".

Mikhail Gorbachev expressed the hope that the American leadership would seriously consider all possible consequences of its policy in the Persian Gulf, and called for consistent implementation of a joint line in the spirit of Security Council Resolution 598.

Gorbachev also raised the issue of trust. The Soviet leadership, in keeping with principles and ideas of new thinking, is striving to use all opportunities for broadening mutual understanding among citizens in both countries, and encourages various forms of contacts between public representatives at all levels.

The American leadership, contrary to public declarations and assurances made officially, sticks to a course of kindling mistrust and suspicion, and cultivates the "enemy image" with regard to the Soviet Union.

The recent evidence is the publication of a document on "Soviet influence" activities in 1986-1987. It was drawn up by the Department of State jointly with the Pentagon, the CIA, USIA, the Department of Justice, military intelligence, and so on, and represents a set of "cold war" stereotypes directed at preserving anti-Soviet sentiments and shaping a negative attitude among Americans towards the restructuring drive which is, allegedly, conceived in order to delude world public and lull its vigilance.

We are serious about changing relations with the United States for the better, are ready to go far in economic and cultural relations and in humanitarian matters. In our society there is no prejudice against the American people, it is open for mutual understanding and friendliness. It is high time that not only Soviet, but also American bulldozers be used to clear the way towards each other.

There is a need both for you and for us to ponder once again over the subject of discussions in Moscow during these two days, Gorbachev said. We are at a very crucial stage. Both sides need maximum attention and mutual understanding so as not to pass up a chance which we had once lost already.

The following officials took part in the meeting: E.A. Shevardnadze, A.F. Dobrynin, S.F. Akhromeyev, A.A. Bessmerthykh, ambassador Yu. V. Dubinin, Frank Carlucci, Rozanne Ridgway, Paul Nitze and Ambassador Jack Matlock.

## Conclusion of Talks

*LD232132 Moscow TASS in English 2120 GMT 23 Oct 87*

["Soviet-American Talks Over"—TASS headline]

[Text] Moscow October 23 TASS—The talks between Eduard Shevardnadze, member of the Political Bureau of the CPSU Central Committee, USSR foreign minister, and U.S. Secretary of State George Shultz were continued in the evening of October 22 and in the afternoon on October 23.

Basing themselves on the understandings in principle reached in the course of the meeting with Mikhail Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, the sides held a business-like and useful discussion of the most topical security issues. The elaboration of the basic provisions of the agreement on the medium-range and shorter-range missiles has been actually completed. The delegations of the USSR and the USA have been instructed to complete within the shortest time work on the text of the treaty on the elimination of the above-said missiles.

Much attention was devoted to the perspective of bringing closer the stands of the sides on the 50 per cent cut in the strategic offensive weapons under the conditions of strict observance of the ABM Treaty. The fresh Soviet initiatives on those issues set forth by Mikhail Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee,

to U.S. Secretary of State George Shultz ensure, provided there is preparedness on both sides to seek an agreement, the basis for progress in that field.

In pursuit of the understanding reached in Washington on full-scale stage-by-stage Soviet-American talks on nuclear tests the sides agreed that they will be started in Geneva on November 9.

The state of things with the drawing up of a mandate for talks between the Warsaw Treaty states and the NATO treaty countries on force and conventional weapons cuts in Europe has been comprehensively examined and problems pertaining to a total ban on chemical weapons have been analysed.

In the course of an exchange of views on the regional problems special emphasis was laid on questions in connection with the dangerous situation emerging in the Persian Gulf as a result of the concentration of the U.S. force there and also in connection with the settlement of the Iran-Iraq conflict.

Some questions pertaining to bilateral Soviet-American relations have been discussed in detail.

Humanitarian issues, in which there is mutual interest, were touched upon in the course of the talks.

In conclusion of the talks Eduard Shevardnadze and George Shultz heard reports and summed up the results of the work by the joint groups of experts on a broad range of issues under discussion.

### SDI Seen as 'Obstacle'

*LD250447 Moscow in English to North America 2300 GMT 24 Oct 87*

[Text] Pavel Kuznetsov comments on the Soviet-American talks in Moscow.

[Kuznetsov] According to the weathermen, we haven't had that much fog around Moscow for over a century. Unable to fly in here U.S. Secretary of State George Shultz arrived in the Soviet capital on Thursday by train. He and his team of about 100 experts and officials had a very busy schedule, conferring with their Soviet counterparts. On Friday George Shultz had a 4 and 1/2 hour meeting with Mikhail Gorbachev.

By the end of Friday, the first disturbing signals that something must have gone wrong began to pour in. The discussions were prolonged and the announced news conferences were delayed. So, as some of the fog began to drift away, we've learned that the two sides have failed to set a date for a Soviet-American summit despite the heartening news that an INF accord on the elimination of medium- and shorter-range nuclear missiles was virtually completed. Standing in the way of a summit, and consequently further progress in arms control, is the Reagan administration's SDI, or the Star Wars program. To be more precise, Washington's unwillingness to demonstrate flexibility on this issue and its resolve to go ahead with the development, construction, and testing in space of all kinds of esoteric technology and new devices in violation of the Soviet-American ABM Treaty of 1972.

Judging by the first reactions from Washington, Moscow is said to have deliberately raised an obstacle to a summit by linking such a meeting with progress on the SDI issue. According to the White House spokesman, Marlin Fitzwater, the issue seems to be whether or not Gorbachev wants to come to the United States for a summit. Well, Mr Fitzwater should know better than simplify matters to such an extent. During the weeks leading to the Moscow talks there were more than enough signals in the Soviet press and electronic media and in official statements that another summit should not deal exclusively with the signing of an INF treaty but should also focus on provisions of a treaty on strategic offensive arms and antimissile systems. Didn't Mikhail Gorbachev himself, in one of his recent speeches, allude to the possibility of there being 50% cuts in long range nuclear missiles in the first half of next year if both sides pledged to strengthen the ABM Treaty?

All these signals were based on an understanding reached during the April and September meetings between Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze and Secretary Shultz. In turn this understanding was achieved during the Reykjavik summit in Iceland, where SDI got in the way and derailed hopes for a historic chance to get rid of all strategic offensive arms within a decade. An INF accord would be too limited an agenda for the Soviet and American leaders if at the same time there is no progress on SDI.

As far as strategic offensive arms are concerned, last Friday Mikhail Gorbachev proposed ceilings on warheads in each leg of the two nation's strategic triad. The numbers are very close to those that the United States Administration has been in favor of so we are very close on medium- and shorter-range missiles; we are very close on how to proceed with 50% cuts in long- range missiles; but we are very apart on SDI and the ABM Treaty.

In my view this really sad turn of events in Moscow should not make us overly pessimistic. After all, many thousands of passengers stranded in Moscow's four airports at one moment lost all hope that this dense fog would ever move away, so let's hope that in the weeks to come the skies will become clearer over the SDI issue.

### Reagan Stands by SDI

*LD232147 Moscow TASS in English 2144 GMT 23 Oct 87*

[Text] Washington October 23 TASS—President Reagan met with West European journalists today and answered their questions about the results of the talks held by U.S. Secretary of State George Shultz in Moscow.

The President pointed out that "some progress was made" on the way to the conclusion of an agreement on medium- and shorter-range missiles, and voiced hope that his meeting in the United States with General Secretary Mikhail Gorbachev would take place later this year.

Describing the current atmosphere in Soviet-American relations, Mr Reagan stated: "I have to believe that there is an effort being made on their part as well as ours to make the cold war a little warmer in the right way. Let's say, a little less cold, but also a little less war".

In answer to the question whether he is prepared to make an adjustment in his position with regard to the U.S. "Strategic Defence Initiative" which is commonly known as the "Star Wars" programme in order to remove the obstacle to progress at the talks on strategic arms, the President of the United States said: "No".

### Shultz News Conference

*LD232326 Moscow Television Service in Russian 2035 GMT 23 Oct 87*

[Special report on 23 October news conference held by U.S. Secretary of State George Shultz in the Press Center of the USSR Foreign Ministry in Moscow--with recorded passages—Shultz speaks in English with superimposed Russian translation; all questioners unidentified; questions either in Russian or English with superimposed Russian translation]

[Text] [Announcer] Press conferences were held by U.S. Secretary of State George Shultz, and Eduard Amvrosiyevich Shevardnadze, USSR minister of foreign affairs, in the Press Center of the USSR Ministry of Foreign Affairs in Moscow today. Addressing the press conference, George Shultz said:

[Shultz] We came to Moscow to discuss the whole range of issues that are of interest to us and the Soviet Union; and we are fully determined to to achieve maximum progress in all spheres. We have had quite exhaustive and careful discussions on practically all the issues. The general spirit of the discussion was constructive. There was a useful exchange of views on bilateral relations. We also considered regional matters. We worked on all aspects of disarmament and, of course, on matters connected with the talks on nuclear arms in space.

We achieved progress in the area of medium-range missiles. I believe that both sides agree that we have almost reached an agreement here. Details remain concerning verification and inspection.

In our opinion additional time is needed to satisfy ourselves (?that what is possible has been done) [v tom, chto sdelano vozmozhno] in the verification area. Certain new proposals were put forward in the sphere of strategic armaments. We studied matters related to the ABM Treaty. It is not yet clear on which of them we can reach agreement. The belief in the United States is that we must do everything possible to clarify how we are to defend ourselves against ballistic missiles and insure the security of our friends and allies.

Today I again had the honor of meeting General Secretary Gorbachev. It transpired that Mr Gorbachev is not yet satisfied with the situation in the spheres of space and defense.

We were unable to set any specific date for General Secretary Gorbachev's visit to Washington. However, he persuaded us that he would like to visit the United States and does not exclude the possibility of doing so before this year ends.

[Announcer] George Shultz then answered questions from journalists.

[Question] Can all the difficulties be reduced to the U.S. position on SDI?

[Shultz] The record of the administration and that of the United States in general, consists in the fact that we are resolutely defending U.S. security. How can we defend ourselves against ballistic missiles? This question, naturally, is of an enormous concern to all of us; and it is precisely here that the initial basis of our position lies. At the same time, from the very start the President has shown and continues to show readiness to extensively reduce nuclear arsenals. If we conclude an agreement on medium-range missiles, if we sign and ratify it, this will be an important step. Yet it would be considerably more important if we could go further and achieve a 50% reduction in strategic arms.

[Question] Has the Soviet side made the same reservations it made in Reykjavik or have some new points been brought forward which you have been unable to answer satisfactorily?

[Shultz] Considerable progress—I would say enormous progress—was made in Reykjavik, and not only in the area of arms control but in other areas too. For example, it was precisely in Reykjavik that we first established clearly and in a well-defined way the practice of conferences of regular working groups on human rights. Therefore, I think if one refers to Reykjavik, one could say that we achieved more in Reykjavik than at any of the preceding meetings. After Reykjavik, certain changes occured in the positions on the issues of ABM's and space, yet I think it would be fair to say that we have more differences on this issue than on medium-range missiles and strategic arms.

[Question] Did you discuss with USSR leaders the Arab Gulf issue or some kind of cooperation between the United States and the USSR in this area?

[Announcer] Answering this question, George Shultz noted that in conversations in Moscow the situation in the Persian Gulf region and the Iran-Iraq conflict were discussed fairly fully. In this connection, he stressed the importance of the efforts by the UN secretary general for implementation of Security Council Resolution 598. Both the Soviet Union and the United States, Shultz said, want the Security Council and the UN to be effective bodies. The time will come, I hope, when we will be able to work together more fruitfully.

[Question] Do you think that an additional meeting between you and Mr Shevardnadze would be necessary to prepare a summit?

[Shultz] This remains to be resolved. The meetings that Mr Shevardnadze and myself have already had have been productive, but I do not think that a meeting could be held right now on any specific issue. A certain amount of progress has been made and we intend to carry on with this work. When it seems useful to hold meetings between ministers of foreign affairs or other officials, we are prepared to hold them.

[Announcer] The US secretary of state said in conclusion: We had a discussion and talked about our priorities. I have the impression that we will be able to get results. In other words, perhaps our goals are not very different. True, I am not very convinced that this is true of space defense. The United States will now be waiting for the letter that Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev intends to send to President Reagan.

## Shevardnadze Conference

*LD240003 Moscow Television Service in Russian 2045 GMT 23 Oct 87*

[Report on 23 October news conference given by Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze in the Press Center of the USSR Foreign Ministry in Moscow]

[Text] [Announcer] A news conference addressed by Eduard Amvrosyevich Shevardnadze was held today:

[Begin recording] [Shevardnadze] How did the Moscow meeting go? I want to stress that it was a useful meeting and, overall, one that brought results. I do not yet have any information about how the secretary of state described our talks, the talks with the Soviet leadership, but on this I do not think we should disagree. Why were this meeting and the discussions in Moscow productive? The first thing I would draw your attention to is the fact that we managed to overcome some very serious obstacles that arose in Geneva at the Soviet-U.S. talks on medium-range and operational-tactical missiles.

First, we finally formulated the provisions concerning the Pershing-1A's, and this is of great importance. I want to stress again that this problem really is a fine and delicate one. I want to note straight away the positive role played in solving this question by our allies, the GDR, CSSR, and of course by the leadership of the FRG. We have agreed on a final formula on the Pershing-1's at the Moscow talks. The time frame for eliminating the medium-range and shorter-range missiles and the procedures for their destruction have been agreed on at the talks here in Moscow. We have reached agreement on the exchange of data on this class of missiles, on both the one and two, and this is of fundamental importance for all subsequent decisions. To a considerable extent, we have moved forward on the final stage of questions relating to the verification and inspection.

It is precisely these problems that were moved into the forefront. I must say that on many of the main questions we found mutually acceptable solutions, although because of a time shortage we were not able to discuss here in Moscow all the questions relating to verification and inspection. I stress that this was because of a time shortage, although we had a directive—and I mean our delegation did—from Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev that all main issues connected with eliminating these types of nuclear armaments were to be agreed on here in Moscow. But I will say, and I think that the comrades can confirm this, that all basic problems involving eliminating these armaments have been resolved in principle.

As I am aware, and we discussed this at the last final session with the secretary of state and other members of the U.S. delegation, they are in agreement with this. So the question of concluding an agreement on eliminating medium-range and operational-tactical missiles no longer—I can say boldly—evokes doubts. Such an agreement will be drafted. That is one side of the issue, a very important and fundamental one.

If it were not for the Moscow meeting—and I must say this even though I have great respect for our specialists, experts, and negotiators working in Geneva—the debates would still be continuing, whereas the Moscow meeting has facilitated the conclusion and acceleration of this important process. The talks were also useful in beginning, or rather setting a date for beginning, wide-ranging talks on nuclear tests. This we have conclusively determined. This is the problem that has been disturbing many representatives of the world community. As we agreed on in Washington and as the Soviet leadership had decided, the central problem in our talks was the problem of a 50% reduction in strategic offensive weapons and the problems linked to preserving the ABM Treaty and reinforcing it.

I would like to tell you that, on the issue of reducing strategic offensive weapons, Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev has introduced a fundamentally important new proposal on determining the quantitative levels regarding the strategic triad—intercontinental ballistic missiles, submarine-launched ballistic missiles, and air-launched cruise missiles on strategic bombers. I would like to make public these figures which were given at the talks. Comrade Gorbachev proposed setting a ceiling for

intercontinental ballistic missiles. This is 3,300 warheads—from 3,000 to 3,300. For submarine-launched ballistic missiles, from 1,800 to 2,000 [unidentified voice interjects: "warheads"] I am referring to nuclear warheads. It is a good thing there are specialists sitting beside me! And not always getting in the way! [laughter] On air-launched cruise missiles, from 800 to 900. Those who know about the subject and are following the Soviet-U.S. talks will agree that these figures are very close to those spelled out many times by representatives of the U.S. Administration.

I think that we have taken a very major step along the path toward achieving an agreement on the fundamental problem in the Soviet-U.S. talks: a sharp reduction in strategic offensive weapons. You know what our position is on the ABM Treaty. I would like to inform you that we have, on numerous occasions, set forth our position thtat the ABM Treaty must be preserved in the form in which it was signed and ratified, and that there should be no withdrawal from the treaty for a minimum of 10 years. We said this in Rejkyavik, and we said it at all the subsequent meetings. I do not think it will be an exaggeration to say that the absolute majority of countries, including the allies of the United States, share the opinion that the ABM Treaty must be preserved.

After Rejkyavik, we attempted to make a few clarifications regarding the development of our position, and frankly, we went halfway to meet the Americans. First of all, we said, and we now confirm, that we allow research work, and not only research work, but also the building of the corresponding mockups and models under laboratory conditions, test sites, under production conditions, and so forth. We went further: At the latest talks, and particularly at the talks in Washington, we suggested to the U.S. Administration that a list be drawn up of the devices whose delivery into space would be banned. We went even further: At the talks, we correspondingly provided the parameters and characteristics of these devices. Everything relating to the development [sozdaniye] of any instruments and devices below those parameters would not be banned.

I emphasize that this premise is of fundamental significance for achieving an agreement on adherence to the ABM Treaty during the agreed upon period. Unfortunately, I have to say that in Moscow the U.S. delegaiton did not display a willingness to discuss matters relating to preserving the ABM Treaty on a businesslike and constructive basis. We were unsuccessful in that discusison. We consider these two aspects, which are constantly present at Soviet-U.S. talks—a 50% reduction of strategic offensive arms and the preservation of the ABM Treaty—to be of fundamental significance for Soviet-U.S. relations.

As far back as Washington, we came to an agreement that the next major stage in Soviet-U.S. relations would be a meeting between Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev, general secretary of the party Central Committee, and President Reagan, before the end of this year, in the autumn of this year. We also had a fundamental discussion there about a rough program of further high level contacts. In addition, we agreed there that an agreement on medium-range missiles would be signed at the present meeting. The agreement would be prepared in advance, and the leaders of the two states would be able to concentrate their main attention at this meeting around the problem of strategic...[corrects himself] reducing strategic offensive arms, and the ABM Treaty.

The next stage in high-level Soviet-U.S. contacts is a visit by the President of the United States of America in the first half of next year, taking into consideration the fact that at the first summit meeting an accord in principle will be reached, while in Moscow the agreement on strategic offensive arms and the ABM Treaty will be signed. That is how we envisaged, so to speak, the entire program of future contacts. I have to say that the U.S. side displayed an interest in such a program; we had a fundamental discussion about it, and we said that under such a scenario it would be possible, genuinely possible, to ratify both the first and the second treaty, since we attach great significance precisely to the problem of ratification.

Why am I telling you about all these nuances in such detail? Because we are ready to work—namely with the present administration—for major successes, a major breakthrough, I would say, on the most important directions for the elimination—the reduction and subsequently the elimination—of nuclear arsenals, and for keeping space peaceful. Unfortunately, at the Moscow talks it was not possible to make any headway in this decisive field.

I want to inform you that Comrade Gorbachev, general secretary of the party Central Committee, has confirmed his readiness to meet President Reagan, to sign a treaty on medium-range missiles and operational-tactical missiles and, in general, to determine the key clauses of an agreement to reduce strategic offensive arms and preserve the ABM Treaty. I want to emphasize that he has confirmed this readiness. He also told the secretary of state that the Soviet proposals on strategic offensive arms—the figures of which have been given—will probably require some time for detailed study by specialists as well as the U.S. Administration before a summit meeting. [end recording]

[Announcer] Comrade Shevardnadze then replied to correspondents' questions.

[Begin recording] [Fischer] Fischer, GDR Radio. Comrade Minister, what opportunities are there at the moment for the zero option on medium-range missiles. Specifically, when will it be possible to complete work on a treaty on medium-range missiles and operational-tactical missiles?

[Shevardnadze] You know, at the final session, when we drew up the results of the work that had been carried out, we even estimated dates. True, this is always risky, [chuckles] it is always risky to talk about dates, but I think that if the delegations make a big effort—and I have no doubt that the Soviet delegation is ready, so to speak, to act precisely on that level—in 2 to 3 weeks, maybe a little more or a little less, in principle it would be possible to prepare such a draft agreement, inasmuch as the main, so to speak, the cardinal problems have been resolved. There are experienced people sitting here who know that at the final stage what we sometimes consider to be technicalties become very difficult to overcome. But I think that by common efforts we will succeed in preparing such an agreement in a relatively short time.

[Boland in English with superimposed Russian translation] Celestine Boland from *The Washington Post*. I would like to know, if you were not able to achieve progress in the field of space and strategic offensive arms, do you mean that an agreement on medium-range missiles will not be signed this year? If the reply is no, does this mean that the package revealed by Gorbachev on the 26th has once again turned out to be tied up, that once again there is this linkage?

[Shevardnadze] If there is no agreement, if there is no agreement on the key clauses I have been talking about, or rather an accord on the key clauses, this does not signify that a treaty will not be signed on medium-range missiles and operational-tactical missiles. Where and when is another matter, but undoubtedly such a treaty will be signed. [end recording]

[Announcer] Replies were also given to other questions from correspondents. [video shows from left to right on rostrum: Karpov, Bessmertnykh, Shevardnadze, and Gerasimov]

### Reagan on Shultz Talks

*LD241938 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1808 GMT 24 Oct 87*

[Text] Washington, 24 Oct (TASS)—Delivering a routine radio address on Saturday U.S. President Ronald Reagan touched in particular on the question of Soviet-U.S. relations. He pointed out that this week's Soviet-U.S. talks in Moscow touched on "all aspects of relations" between the USSR and the United States. "At present," the U.S. President stated, "we are nearer to completing work on an agreement to eliminate a whole class of U.S. and Soviet medium-range nuclear missiles, and progress was also achieved in other areas."

"The date for holding a summit was not determinmed, but we are in no hurry," Reagan continued. Moreover he asserted that the United States "will not sacrifice its fundamental interests." [Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 26 October First Edition on page 6 carries a similar report, here replacing "not sacrifice its fundamental interests." with "not sacrifice its important interests merely for the sake of holding a meeting."] As is well-known, the current Washington administration is persistently unwilling to renounce plans to create a wide-scale system of antimissile defense of which strike space weapons are to be a central element.

### Shultz, Carlucci Depart

*LD231910 Moscow TASS in English 1900 GMT 23 Oct 87*

[Text] Moscow October 23 TASS—U.S. Secretary of State George Shultz and his wife left Moscow today.

He is being accompanied by Assistant to the President for National Security Frank Carlucci.

They were seen off at the airport by Soviet First Deputy Foreign Minister Yuliy Vorontsov, Soviet Ambassador to the U.S. Yuriy Budinin and other officials.

The send-off party also included U.S. Ambassador to the Soviet Union Jack Matlock.

### Shultz Reports to NATO

*LD241709 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1556 GMT 24 Oct 87*

[Text] Brussels, 24 Oct (TASS)—A special session of the North Atlantic Council at the level of foreign minister and ambassador-permanent representative was held today in the headquarters of the North Atlantic bloc. At it U.S. Secretary of State George Shultz, who had arrived here from Moscow, spoke of the outcome of his talks with Mikhail Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, and with USSR Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze.

Speaking at a press conference, the U.S. secretary of state said that a useful exchange of opinions took place at the session. The main outcome of the discussion at the Moscow talks, he noted, was "general determination to achieve an agreement on medium-range missiles."

The head of the U.S. foreign policy department said that the drafting of the main provisions of an accord on medium- and shorter-range missiles was more or less completed at the talks in Moscow. In the words of G. Shultz, the delegations of the United States and the USSR were instructed to report back each week to their respective ministries on the progress of the talks to conclude the drafting of the text of an agreement on the elimination of this type of missile.

Shultz expressed the hope that this work would be completed in the near future and that a treaty could be signed. "We should like it to be signed at the next Soviet-U.S. summit meeting," he added. "But if such a meeting does not take place, then the question of how this should best be done may be settled. The main thing is the essence of the agreement itself, that it be achieved."

Shultz acknowledged that it was not possible to make real progress in Moscow on the question of strategic offensive weapons. The U.S. secretary of state spoke out against the Soviet proposal to declare a moratorium on all work connected with the production, testing and deployment of medium-and shorter-range missiles. Shultz claims that if the sides did this, the "basis for future talks would be removed." It followed from his words that the United States is not ready either to declare a moratorium on all work being carried out on the U.S. radar installation in Scotland.

For his part NATO Secretary General Lord Carrington stressed in a statement that the members of the North Atlantic Council greeted "the continued significant progress in achieving a totally verifiable agreement on medium-range missiles. The successful completion of these talks will be an important achievement." In the words of Lord Carrington, the allies are very interested in "progress being made on all issues of East-West relations."

### Meets With Journalists

*LD251345 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 0930 GMT 25 Oct 87*

[Text] At the beginning of this issue of "Mayak" panorama we shall hear a report from our correspondent in Brussels, Kipras Mazheyka. A special session of the NATO council was held there at which U.S. Secretary of State Shultz spoke, informing the partners in the bloc of the results of his talks in Moscow. We go over to Brussels.

[Mazheyka] This special meeting of North Atlantic Treaty Organization members at the level of foreign ministers of the bloc's member-countries lasted for 2 and 1/2 hours. That was unusually long. Therefore, the expected meeting of journalists with George Shultz, who had arrived straight from Moscow, was postponed. It is not just a question of statistics, but if we are to believe the words of the U.S. secretary of state himself, then the session that just ended is already the 56th since the Soviet-U.S. negotiations on reductions in the nuclear weapons arsenals started. How does the present session of NATO members differ from all the others? I think first and foremost in its cautious optimism. The high-ranking visitor from Washington told journalists that by the end of next week the heads of the Soviet and U.S. delegations at the Geneva talks on medium- and shorter-range missiles should agree on the final text of the relevant agreements. He stated that noticeable progress had been made both in working out a schedule for the stage-by-stage elimination of this class of weapon, as well as in the sphere of verifying the strict observance of the accords reached.

Alongside the progress that has been achieved, the head of U.S. diplomacy noted the deep-going differences that still exist in the positions of both sides regarding a moratorium on this type of missile, and especially the problem with SDI. During the news conference in Evere George Shultz touched upon the recent meeting with Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev. He described the Soviet leader as an exceptionally competent and business-like interlocutor who makes an indelible impression with his knowledge of the problems and manner of contact with people.

### Moscow Talks Discussed

*LD260642 Moscow TASS in English 0632 GMT 26 Oct 87*

[Text] Washington October 26 TASS—U.S. President Ronald Reagan met on Sunday with Secretary of State George Shultz and Assistant to the President for National Security Frank Carlucci who returned from a trip to the Soviet Union.

According to a White House spokesman, they discussed the results of the Soviet-American talks in Moscow last week.

### INF Treaty 'Within Reach'

*LD260938 Moscow TASS in English 0715 GMT 26 Oct 87*

[Text] Washington October 26 TASS—Frank Carlucci, Assistant to the U.S. President for National Security Affairs, appeared in ABC's "This Week With David Brinkley" program on Sunday. In answer to the question about prospects for final elaboration of a Soviet-U.S. agreement on medium- and shorter-range missiles Mr Carlucci gave on the whole an optimistic appraisal.

"I think it's quite clear that an INF treaty is well within reach, I would say", he said, "we are just now wrapping up the details. We've made good progress in Moscow on that treaty".

Having recalled that other aspects of Soviet-American relations were also touched upon in Moscow, Mr Carlucci mentioned "a thorough discussion of regional issues, although there are a lot of differences there".

"So it was, by and large, a productive meeting", he said.

At the same time it was clear from pronouncements by the Assistant to the U.S. President for National Security Affairs that the Reagan administration did not intend to abandon the "Star Wars" program which is aimed at developing space strike weapons and at militarizing outer space on a large scale.

He stated that President Reagan was determined to proceed with this program.

The "Star Wars" program, which is aimed at bringing into being a large-scale anti-missile defence system with space-based elements, enters into direct conflict with the Soviet-U.S. ABM Treaty which is the cornerstone of the arms control process.

### U.S. 'Disappointment' Noted

*PM261141 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 26 Oct 87 Second Edition p 6*

[Own correspondent V. Gan report: "Reaction on the Potomac"]

[Text] Washington, 25 Oct—The mood here after the Soviet-U.S. talks in Moscow may be characterized chiefly by the word "disappointment." Of all the comments being made at the present moment on the Potomac, that is the word used most often. Disappointment is being noted in the White House, by "senior officials" in the administration, and in Congress.

The explanation is not hard to find. At a press conference last Thursday the President encouraged the country to expect "cardinal improvements" in Soviet-U.S. relations. "The White House gave us every grounds for believing that at the press conference in Moscow Secretary of State Shultz would announce the achievement of an arms control agreement and a summit meeting. He did neither of those things," ABC TV stated.

Some U.S. political observers, like a number of U.S. congressmen, are trying to view the course of events without prejudice. "The President's 'Star Wars' program and the U.S. side's lack of flexibility on this question are what caused Gorbachev's refusal to set a firm date for the meeting with Reagan," ABC TV believes. CBS, in turn, notes that "the lack of progress in limiting the strategic defense initiative prevented" the fixing of a date.

Senator P. Leahy from Vermont, a prominent figure in the Democratic Party, expressed the same idea in these terms: "If Reagan wants to achieve the control and reduction of strategic nuclear arms, he must at least begin talks on the 'star wars' question."

These are the first reactions to date. In the future, no doubt, people here will also analyze the progress achieved at the talks on questions of preparing an agreement on medium-range and operational-tactical missiles and will address the USSR's important new compromise proposals which enable a solution to be found on the crucial problem of the 50% reduction of strategic offensive weapons while strictly observing the ABM Treaty.

## China

### Central Committee Greets CPC Congress

*PM241800 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 25 Oct 87 First Edition p 1*

[CPSU Central Committee greetings message to 13th CPC Congress]

[Text] To the 13th CPC Congress

On behalf of Soviet Communists the CPSU Central Committee conveys to the delegates to the 13th CPC Congress and all Chinese Communists comradely greetings and wishes for fruitful work at the supreme party forum.

Soviet people are watching with great attention and sympathy as the Chinese people, under the Communist Party's leadership, resolve large-scale tasks of socialist building. The USSR values the PRC's contribution to the struggle against the threat of nuclear war and for the strengthening of peace and international security and notes with satisfaction that the efforts of our two major socialist states in the world arena are largely similar in orientation.

Guided by the decisions of the 27th CPSU Congress, the Soviet Union is consistently steering a course of organizing mutually advantageous good-neighborly cooperation with the PRC. We are prepared to continue to expand political dialogue, strengthen trade and economic links, multiply contacts in various spheres and at various levels, and seek a solution to the issues that arise in a spirit of goodwill and mutual trust with a view to the further onward development of Soviet-Chinese relations for the good of the two countries' peoples and in the interests of socialism and peace.

CPSU Central Committee

### Press Conference on Congress

*LD242257 Moscow TASS in English 2240 GMT 24 Oct 87*

[Text] Beijing October 24 TASS—A press conference has been held in the house of popular assembly today on the occasion of the 13th Congress of the Chinese Communist Party due to open in Beijing on October 25. It was attended by more than 300 Chinese and foreign newsmen accredited to the press centre of the party forum.

Addressing newsmen, Zhu Muzhi, a spokesman for the Chinese Communist Party, briefed the audience on the preparatory meeting of the congress held today under the chairmanship of Acting General Secretary of the Party Central Committee Zhao Ziyang. The meeting adopted the agenda of the congress. The delegates will hear and discuss the report of the party Central Committee and the reports of the Central Commission of Counsellors of the Communist Party of China and the Central Commission of the Communist Party of China for the control of discipline. Amendments to some articles of the CCP rules will be examined and adopted. The congress is to elect the party Central Committee and a new composition of the central commissions of the Chinese Communist Party.

As was pointed out at the press conference nearly seven million new members joined the party over the past five years. At present there are 46.01 million people among the ranks of the Chinese Communist Party, 40 per cent of them being peasants.

Zhu Muzhi said that the first meeting was held today of the Presidium of the congress at which a speech was delivered by Zhao Ziyang. It was pointed out at the meeting that in the course of the election of the delegates to the party forum attention was drawn to the development of inter-party democracy. All the delegates were elected by secret ballot in the course of multimandate elections. The delegates elected, he said, are representatives of various professions and nationalities of the country. All of them enjoy authority among the working people, and are credited with services performed to the party and the homeland.

### Deng, Zhao at Opening

*LD250525 Moscow TASS in English 0512 GMT 25 Oct 87*

[Text] Beijing October 25 TASS—The 13th Congress of the Communist Party of China opened in Beijing today. The opening speech was made by Deng Xiaoping. The main report to the delegates is being delivered by Acting General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China Zhao Ziyang.

### Zhao Delivers Main Report

*LD251135 Moscow TASS in English 1007 GMT 25 Oct 87*

[Text] Beijing October 25 TASS—Acting General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China Zhao Ziyang has delivered the main report at the 13th Congress of the Communist Party of China which opened today. The main task of our congress is acceleration and deepening of the reconstruction drive, he said. We are to more thoroughly elaborate the basic course of economic development, further reform of the economic and political mechanism.

Over the past nine years China attained huge successes in socialist construction. The gross national product, financial incomes of the state and the average incomes of the urban and rural population approximately doubled. Noticeable successes were attained in consolidating and developing the political situation of stability and cohesion, in gradually broadening socialist democracy and consolidating legality, in building up socialist culture, in carrying out a military reform, in bringing about the [word indistinct] and practice of the completion of unification of the homeland by the "one state—two systems" principle, in streamlining external inter-state and party relations. The past nine years have shown that the course, taken by the third plenary meeting of the 11th Central Committee, is correct.

China is in the initial stage of socialism, he said. This is not the initial stage at all which any country experiences on entering socialism. For China which emerged from the deep of semi-colonial and semi-feudal society, this is a special period through which we must inevitably pass, building socialism. The party's main line at this stage is bringing together the multinational people of the country for the struggle to make China a wealthy, mighty, democratic and civilised contemporary socialist state.

This report Zhao Ziyang underlined that China's socialist economy was now a planned market economy based on the social form of property. This is the main theoretical precept of the reform of China's economic system.

Touching upon the restructuring of the political set-up, the speaker said that there were considerable shortcomings in the system of leadership in China. These are specifically excessive centralisation of power, bureaucratism, survivals of feudalism. The aim of the restructuring is to create a viable socialist, political system with highly developed democracy, perfect law and order and high efficiency. And the aim of the very near future is to delineate the functions of party and government agencies, to reconstruct the working apparatus of the government, to introduce the system of public consultations, to perfect the institutions of socialist political democracy, to strengthen law and order.

Having noted the importance of working with the cadres, of promoting the young well-educated cadres, the reporter said that in rejuvenating the top line-up emphasis was being made on putting younger blood into central guiding bodies of the country. Our congress is proposed to make a big step forward in this direction, said Zhao Ziyang.

Touching upon the present-day international situation in general, acting general secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China welcomed the accord in principle between the USSR and the USA on the question of eliminating of medium-range nuclear missiles. He also said that China would continue steadily carrying out a peaceful and independent foreign policy, establishing the relations of friendship and cooperation with all countries of the world on the basis of five principles of peaceful coexistence.

### Moscow Correspondent Report

*LD252058 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1430 GMT 25 Oct 87*

[Text] The 13th Congress of China's Communists is taking place in Beijing. This is what our correspondent Vladimir Kulikov has to report:

[Kulikov] "Forward Along the Road of Socialism With Specific Chinese Features"—This slogan is hanging in the Great Hall of the People where the 13th CPC Congress is being held at the moment. That is also the subject of the report made at the congress by Comrade

Zhao Ziyang, acting general secretary of the CPC central Committee. This slogan, the red flags on the congress presidium, the international resounding before the congress started, reflect the resoluteness of Chinese Communists to firmly keep to the path of socialist construction.

The first and highly important steps have already been taken. As is noted in the report, the 9 years that have passed since the Third Central Committee Plenum, which set a course for reform, opened up a new period in the development of China. Great success has been achieved in economic construction. The socialist restructuring of the economic and political mechanism has led to great changes in the social sphere. A situation of stability and cohesion in the country has become stronger and developed.

At the same time, attention in the report is paid to the problems and difficulties facing China. We do not have any grounds for conceit. There are more difficulties and problems than were envisioned. This is what Comrade Zhao Ziyang said.

There really are many difficulties. Errors in leadership work; flaws in many regulations; a tendency to chase quick successes in the economic sphere; and bureaucratism at many levels were pointed out. The main task of the congress of Chinese Communists is the intensification and acceleration of the reform. The belief here is that this is the only way to bring about a revival of the country. The reform, as Zhao Ziyang stressed, reflects the will of the people and is an irreversible trend. The CPC Central Committee calls on communists to generalize the experience of work that has been done, firmly to defend the policy of reform, to focus efforts on restructuring the economic and political mechanism, and the stepping up of party construction. That is a guarantee of headway on the path of socialism.

It is warm and sunny in Beijing just now. It is Sunday today, moreover, and on Tienanmen Square, where the Great Hall of the People is situated, the crowd is very large. I have spoken to Beijing people who have come here. A live relay of the congress proceedings was carried on central television throughout the country. The press has written a lot about the congress and the problems it will discuss. The point is that these problems—as I was told by Bad, an elderly worker of the capital's metallurgical combine, who had come to the square with his grandson—affect everyone. I am not a party member, but I fully share the viewpoint expressed at the congress that there can be no turning back from the road of reforms. That is important not just for our generation, but also for the young people, who will be in charge of the country in the future. At the Monument to the Heroes of the Revolution on Tienanmen Square stands an honor guard in red neckties. That is how Beijing's pioneers are welcoming the 13th Congress.

## Tasks of Congress

*LD252059 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1500 GMT 25 Oct 87*

[From the "Vremya" newscast; Vladimir Kulikov report from Beijing]

[Text] The 13th CPC Congress opened in Beijing today. Our special correspondent Vladimir Kulikov reports:

[Kulikov] Almost 2,000 delegates are attending the congress. They are representing the 46 million-strong army of Chinese Communists. The congress is opened by Deng Xiaoping, member of the Standing Committee of the Political Bureau of the CPC Central Committee. In the congress Presidium are Zhao Ziyang, Li Xiannian, Chen Yun, Hu Yaobang, members of the Standing Committee of the Political Bureau, and other party leaders. "Forward Along the Road of Socialism With Specific Chinese Features"—that is the subject of the report by Comrade Zhao Ziyang, acting general secretary of the CPC Central Committee.

Considerable successes have been achieved in socialist construction during the 9 years that have passed since the Third Plenum of the Central Committee which proclaimed a course toward reform. The appearance of the country has changed deeply. This thought was expressed at the beginning of Comrade Zhao Ziyang's report.

The 13th Party Congress is being called the congress of reforms. It has the task of providing answers to the many questions which have arisen during the implementation of the reforms—theoretical, practical, and organizational questions; and first and foremost it has the task of determining the path of constructing a socialist society that corresponds to the realities of China.

The historical experience that has been built up by the CPC is evidence of the fact that following the socialist path, the path of the October Revolution, has invariably been a guarantee of success. It is not fortuitous that the issue of the political structure reform in China was an integral part of the report given by Comrade Zhao Ziyang. This reform has the task of simplifying the socialist system, of strengthening party leadership, and of directing its efforts into the development of forces of production under conditions of socialism.

The congress is attracting great attention from Chinese Communists, from all Chinese people, and from the international public. Nearly 400 journalists, Chinese and foreign, are reporting on the work of the congress. They include journalists from the Soviet Union.

**PRC Leaders Send Thanks for Anniversary Message**
*PM231253 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 23 Oct 87 Second Edition p 1*

[PRC leaders' cable of thanks for greetings on PRC anniversary]

[Text] To the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium

To the USSR Council of Ministers

On behalf of the Chinese Government and the Chinese people and ourselves personally we express sincere gratitude to the Soviet Government and the Soviet people for their congratulations on the 38th anniversary of the foundation of the PRC and send you good wishes.

Li Xiannian, PRC president

Peng Zhen, chairman of the National People's Congress Standing Committee

Zhao Ziyang, premier of the State Council

## Northeast Asia

**Threat Seen in U.S.-Japan Fighter Aircraft**
*LD231624 Moscow TASS in English 1521 GMT 23 Oct 87*

[Text] Moscow October 23 TASS—Follows commentary by Askold Biryukov, a TASS political news analyst:

The Japanese National Security Council, headed by Prime-Minister Yasuhiro Nakasone, has approved today the decision of Japan's National Defence Council that Japan choose the U.S. fighter bomber F-16 as a base model for a fighter aircraft of a new generation. The National Defence Council deciding the country's military policy has approved the plans of the Japanese National Defence Agency for a start of modernization, production and deployment beginning from 1997 of the new war plane named FCH jointly with the U.S. General Dynamics Corporation. The plans of the Defence Agency provide for the manufacture of 130 such aircraft for the Japanese Airforce alone.

The decision on the joint production of the new aircraft was taken as a result of powerful pressure on Japan, which has particularly increased in recent month, by U.S. aircraft building companies and official Washington. The U.S. military-industrial complex has long tried to force on the Japanese U.S. war-planes for being adopted among the arms of the Japanese Airforce. Yet it met with a fierce resistance of Japanese partners, who gained strength and embarked on the path of military-industrial business. As a result of a compromise reached in the course of the recent visit to Washington of Yuko Kurihara, head of Japan's National Defence Agency, it was decided to create a new aircraft by joint efforts. Yet the Pentagon has succeeded in forcing on the Japanese war department [as received] as a base model for FCH the U.S. nuclear capable fighter aircraft F-16. This aircraft makes now one of the chief components of the nuclear strike, which the Pentagon is planning to launch against the Soviet Far East. It is precisely these aircraft that the USA is now deploying in Misawa Air Base, linking this deployment with the ability to launch strikes against Vladivostok, Petropavlovsk-Kamchatski and Sakhalin.

Therefore it is not accidental that the Japanese Government's decision was met with alarm among broad Japanese public circles. It was long impressed on the latter that the point at issue was simply the question of who was going to be the supplier of new aircraft for the Japanese Airforce: Japan or the USA? And in so doing, the essense of the deal was obviously camouflaged. Nobody was told what sort of an aircraft that was going to be: simply an interceptor fighter aircraft of a new generation or an aircraft with broader offensive functions. Now the Japanese, as was more than once the case in the past, are faced with fait accompli. This is going to be not even an F-16, but an aircraft by far exceeding it by all of its parameters.

Knowing the range of action of the F-16 fighter bomber, which has been taken as the basis for the new aircraft, the Japanese *Akahata* said, it can be assumed that the new aircraft is designed for use not so much with defensive as with aggressive aims spearheaded against the Soviet Union.

Tokyo's decision to give sharp "teeth" to its airforce, to impart to it a different designation rather than a defensive one will indisputably cause serious concern among Japan's neighbors since the point at issue is an obvious attempt at changing the strategic balance in the region. In any event, the implementation of that decision is fraught with an upsetting of stability and will inevitably cause a growth of tensions in that part of the world.

## Southeast Asia & Pacific

**U.S. Embassy Contacts in Manila Protested**
*LD231629 Moscow TASS in English 1601 GMT 23 Oct 87*

[Text] Manila October 23 TASS—The involvement of U.S. secret services in the activity of ultra right-wing groups in the Philippines, of which local press media reports almost daily, and also the recent statement by U.S. Ambassador to Manila Nicholas Platt on American officials' ties with rebel Colonel Gregorio Honasan have augmented suspicion in the higher echelon of the Philippine leadership regarding the true purposes of Washington's policy.

Speaking to journalists on October 22, the ambassador stated that he placed full trust in the personnel of the office of the embassy's military attache maintaining

contacts with rebels, and described the actions by several members of the embassy staff, who were seen together with Honasan on August 28, as fulfilment by them of their direct duties.

The admission by the U.S. ambassador as cynical as this one compelled a group of top ranking officials of the Philippine Defence Ministry to approach the country's Foreign Ministry with a demand that it send to the United States a note of protest against the attempts by the U.S. Embassy in Manila to give backing to actions by ultra right-wing groups, the newspaper *Philippine Daily Inquirer* writes.

The newspaper *Malaya* writes in an editorial article that the embassy's intensified activity increasingly reminds of the activity of U.S. representatives in Chile ahead of the overthrow of the legitimate government of Salvador Allende and calls for the closest attention on the part of the Philippine administration.

### Vorotnikov Greets Lao Delegation on Arrival

*LD231527 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1400 GMT 23 Oct 87*

[Text] A party and government delegation of the Lao People's Democratic Republic today arrived in Moscow at the invitation of the CPSU Central Committee and the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium and Council of Ministers. It is here to celebrate the 70th anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution. The delegation is led by Kaysone Phomvihan, general secretary of the Lao People's Revolutionary Party and chairman of the Council of Ministers.

The delegation was met at the airport by Vorotnikov, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and chairman of the RSFSR Council of Ministers, and other officials.

### New Sea Lane Links USSR With New Zealand

*LD231123 Moscow TASS in English 1048 GMT 23 Oct 87*

[Text] Vladivostok October 23 TASS—A new international sea lane has linked the shores of Soviet Far East with New Zealand. It will be used predominantly for container carriage and served by ships of the Far Eastern Shipping Line. Earlier, cargoes from the USSR were delivered to New Zealand ports by ships of the Baltic Shipping line by skirting almost half of the globe.

Specialists believe that it is exactly linear carriage that will cope with the ever growing cargo haulage to South-East Asian countries, Australia, New Zealand and in the opposite direction.

## Near East & South Asia

### Official Reaction to Gulf Developments

#### Foreign Ministry Statement

*LD241224 Moscow TASS in English 1215 GMT 24 Oct 87*

[Text] Moscow October 24 TASS—A spokesman for the Soviet Foreign Ministry made the following statement:

Dangerous developments in the Persian Gulf are being watched with much anxiety in Moscow. Disquieting reports are coming in almost daily from that region about attacks on merchant ships and on civilian and economic facilities. On October 22 the oil terminal in the Kuwaiti port Al-Ahmadi came under missile fire which caused loss of life.

The Soviet Union has more than once declared its negative view of such actions, regardless of who commits them. Armed actions against neutral Kuwait can all the more so only draw condemnation. They are unacceptable from the standpoint of either international law of humaneness and morality. Attempting to draw third countries in the Persian Gulf into the conflict is inadmissible, no matter who makes such attempts.

The Soviet Union reaffirms its support for the territorial integrity, independence and sovereignty of friendly Kuwait.

Attempts to drag Kuwait into the whirlpool of the Iran-Iraq conflict contrary to the will of its people and government are only exacerbating the situation in the region and adding to logjams to the search for ways of putting an end to the war and stabilizing the situation in the region.

#### Kuwait Has 'Full Support'

*LD241125 Kuwait KUNA in English 1049 GMT 24 Oct 87*

[By Khaled al-Tarrah]

[Text] Moscow, Oct 24 (KUNA)—The Soviet Union Saturday officially condemned the missile attack against the Kuwaiti sea island oil loading terminal regardless of its source, expressing full support to Kuwait in maintaining "sovereignty, independence and territorial integrity."

Head of the Gulf Department in the Foreign Ministry's North Africa and Middle East Department Aleksandr Galitsin told KUNA that attempts to drag Kuwait into the Iraq-Iran conflict, contrary to the wish of its leadership and people, only lead to escalating the situation in the region and blocking efforts to end the conflict.

The official, who was given the green light by Soviet Foreign Ministry to declare the official stance, added that Moscow had repeatedly announced its stance against such practices regardless of their source.

"Such terrorist practices against the neutral state of Kuwait only raises denunciations," Galitsin underlined.

The Soviet diplomat affirmed that these practices are rejected from the international law's point of view and contradicts with human and ethical values."

The official stressed that "attempts to drag third parties, from the Gulf region, in the Iraq-Iran war cannot be sanctioned regardless of the source of such attempts."

He pointed out that his country follows with great concern serious development of events in the Arabian Gulf, referring to the daily worrisome news of strikes at commercial tankers and civilian and economic installations.

Kuwait had announced that the oil-loading terminal off al-Ahmadi port was attacked by an Iranian Silkworm missile which inflicted material losses and human casualties.

### Zverev on U.S. Attack

*JN241548 Kuwait AL-ANBA' in Arabic 23 Oct 87 pp 1, 22*

[By Fatimah Mansur]

[Text] USSR Ambassador to Kuwait Ernest Zverev has strongly condemned the attack against oil tankers in the man-made island inside [Kuwaiti territorial] waters yesterday. He described the attack against oil tankers in the Kuwaiti territorial waters and against the oil installations' area in Al-Shu'aybah as an irresponsible operation leading to increasing escalation in the region.

In an exclusive statement to *Al-Anba'*, he pointed out that proceeding from this premise, the USSR stand in this regard is specific and clear. He said this attack is a new link in a chain of aggressive operations carried out by Iran and the United States. He said: We denounced the recent attack against Kuwait as we denounced the hitting of the Liberian tanker and a tanker flying the U.S. flag in the Gulf. Proceeding from the same premise, we condemn the U.S. attack against Iranian platforms because all these operations increase the seriousness of the situation and add fuel to the fire. Moreover, all these operations are unacceptable and are not a means to resolve the issue, he added.

The USSR ambassador asserted that these developments as well as the escalation of war arouse extreme concern for everyone, primarily the USSR. He said events resulting from these attacks constitute extremely dangerous developments. He said that if this escalation continues, he does not rule out the possibility of other countries becoming involved in this war. I mean that this war may also involve countries outside the region, he added. He also said: The development of events as well as the quick escalation affirm that if the flame of the current fire continues then it can involve new countries in the war outside the region. Therefore, the use of force to resolve this region's issue should be abandoned, he added.

The USSR ambassador called for exerting all necessary efforts for an immediate activation, without delay or hesitation, of the convening of a second Security Council session to implement Resolution 598.

### Zverev on UN Efforts

*LD240918 Kuwait KUNA in English 0812 GMT 24 Oct 87*

[Text] Kuwait, Oct 24 (KUNA)—Soviet Ambassador in Kuwait Ernest N. Zverev was quoted as saying here Saturday that the Iranian missile attacks on Kuwait are irresponsible and unacceptable acts that are denounced by his country.

In an interview with *"Al-Anba"'* daily newspaper, the ambassador also said that the attacks on Kuwait, which is not a party to the conflict, represent dangerous escalation that might spread the flames of war to areas outside the region.

The ambassador expressed belief that force is not the proper way for solving regional problems, and pointed out that Moscow is keen and determined to resort to political means for settling different issues, including the Gulf war.

He emphasized that Iranian missile attacks on Kuwait and the latest escalation in the Gulf war necessitate exerting more efforts for the implementation of the U.N. Security Council Resolution 598.

In the course of the interview, which mainly centered on the Iraq-Iran war and the Iranian attacks on Kuwait, Zverev said the war has damaged Soviet economic interests in the region, recalling that his country had wide economic cooperation ties with both Iran and Iraq before the breakout of the war in September 1980.

Answering a question on whether Moscow would agree on holding another meeting for the Security Council to discuss ways of implementing the resolution on ending the conflict, the ambassador said the Soviet Union is withholding that meeting to reconsider the ways of implementing the resolution.

In an answer to another question on whether Moscow will support a resolution calling for arms embargo against Iran, the Soviet ambassador said he does not think that after the sanctions on Iran, Tehran is going to change its stance and said "I am not convinced that all the countries will respect resolutions concerning arms embargo."

He reiterated the Soviet call for the withdrawal of all foreign forces from the Gulf region and to replace them by U.N. forces.

In reply to a question on what the Soviet Union will do in case a Soviet oil tanker was attacked, the ambassador said in such a situation his country will find the necessary measures for ensuring the safety of the Soviet tankers.

On how the Soviet Union will react in case the situation between the U.S. and Iran escalated, the ambassador said "we hope that no confrontation would take place, and added that his country has repeatedly called for not resorting to exchange of strikes and charges.

He further said confrontations represent dangerous escalation that pose real threat not only to the region, but the whole world in general.

On the results of the recent visit to Moscow by Kuwaiti Oil Minister Sheikh 'Ali al-Khalifa al-Adbi, the Soviet ambassador said an agreement for cooperation in the petroleum sector was concluded during the visit and it was agreed to form the joint committee for economic cooperation between Kuwait and the Soviet Union.

As for Soviet-Kuwaiti bilateral relations, he said those relations are developing successfully.

He answered a question on whether Moscow is prepared to supply Kuwait with certain types of arms if Kuwait asked for this by saying the Soviet Union will respond to any request of assistance in the light of the strong relatios between the two countries.

Responding to a question about the Arab dissatisfaction with the Soviet position toward the Gulf war and the Soviet Jews immigration to the Zionist entity, the ambassador said this dissatisfaction "is due to lack of correct and frank information about the Soviet stands."

## Panamanian-Flagged Greek Tanker Attacked

### AP Report Cited

*LD240651 Moscow TASS in English x0642 GMT 24 Oct 87*

[Text] New York October 24 TASS—A Greek tanker under the Panamanian flag was attacked off Dubayy in the southern part of the Persian Gulf last night. The *Associated Press* news agency reports that the tanker was fired upon from a high-speed boat. As a result of the attack a fire broke out aboard the vessel. The crew tried to put out the fire which spread from the engine room to cargo holds. No reports came about the casualties. According to the news agency, the tanker was attacked by an Iranian boat.

### Weinberger Comments Noted

*LD240834 Moscow TASS in English 0739 GMT 24 Oct 87*

[Text] New York October 24 TASS—A speedboat attacked a Panamanian-flagged Greek tanker off Dubai in the south of the Persian Gulf last night, the *Associated Press* reported.

The ship was set on fire and crew members were trying to put out the blaze which had spread from the engine room to tanks. No casualties were reported.

The news agency claimed the attack had involved an Iranian speedboat.

U.S. Defense Secretary Caspar Weinberger, speaking Friday in the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, made it clear that the scope of U.S. naval operations in the Gulf could be enlarged under the pretext of "protecting" ships flying the flags of other nations.

Answering questions from senators, who have been increasingly concerned about the growing threat of U.S. involvement in the armed conflict between Iran and Iraq, the Pentagon chief, according to the *Associated Press*, defended the Reagan administration's confrontational policy in the Gulf.

"If we are aware of a ship under attack," the U.S. defense secretary declared in a warlike fashion, "we would respond."

He said U.S. naval ships currently engaged in operations to escort U.S.-flagged Kuwaiti tankers in the Gulf could also be used to "protect" vessels flying other national flags.

The Pentagon chief, however, refused to detail the circumstances under which the U.S. Navy would "protect" such ships, explaining that he was not going to divulge information that could be used by Iran.

According to U.S. wire services, Kuwait, in the meantime, began deploying additional U.S.-made Hawk antiaircraft missile batteries on Failaka Island halfway between the main Kuwaiti oil terminal and Al-Faw Island now controlled by Iran.

It is on that island that Silkworm missile batteries are believed to have been set up. A similar missile, according to reports by news agencies, hit the Kuwaiti oil terminal Thursday, causing heavy damage.

## Soviet Consulate Reopens in Alexandria

*LD260839 Moscow TASS in English 0748 GMT 26 Oct 87*

[Text] Cairo October 26 TASS—The functioning of the consulate-general of the USSR has been resumed in the Egyptian city of Alexandria. This has been welcomed on behalf of the Egyptian leadership, local authorities and the public of the city by Sayyid al-Jawsaqi, governor of Alexandria.

"This event", he pointed out, "serves as yet another confirmation of friendly relations which have been historically maintained between the Soviet and Egyptian peoples. The Egyptians remember well the unselfish assistance rendered to them by Soviet people in the construction of dozens of national economic projects and material and moral support rendered to Egypt by the Soviet Union in the difficult years of enemy aggression".

The governor emphasized the importance of making more active versatile contacts between Alexandria and its sister city of Odessa, which would promote better mutual understanding and stronger friendship between the peoples of the two countries.

Having pointed out the marked positive changes which have taken place in Soviet-Egyptian relations in recent years, Sayyid al-Jawsaqi expressed hope for further widening of fruitful and mutually-beneficial cooperation between the USSR and the A.R.E in the interests of the two countries.

## PDPA Conference Resolution Noted

*PM231351 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 22 Oct 87 First Edition p 4*

[PRAVDA and TASS correspondents V. Okulov and G. Baykov dispatch: "Course Toward Reconciliation"]

[Text] Kabul 21 Oct—The PDPA General Party Conference has ended in the Afghan capital. It expressed wholehearted support for the political line and practical acitivity of the PDPA Central Committee and provisions and conclusions contained in the report of Najibullah, general secretary of the PDPA Central Committee.

The conference resolution outlines the party's immediate task to accelerate the national reconciliation process. The conference views the following as the main objectives of the national reconciliation program during the coming stage: completing establishment of a left-wing-democratic bloc and elaborating the mechanism of cooperation with other parties; creating a coalition government and coalition administrative organs at local level; filling the posts offered to the coalition partners; strictly observing the cease-fire until 15 January 1988; assisting the speedy return home of refugees; adopting the Afghan constitution, electing a president of the republic, and organizing elections to the National Council; and making preparations for the second party congress and the 10th anniversary of the April Revolution.

The general party conference declared that the reconciliation process demands substantial amendments to the political system of Afghan society, citing the introduction of a multiparty system and government by coalition as the main ones. The conference delegates, the resolution says, welcome the intention of the patriotically-minded clergy to establish an Islamic party in Afghanistan and also the idea of creating a peasant party to unite land-owning peasants, those who have been allocated land, and members of cooperatives. In the delegates' opinion, a democratic party which would reflect the interests of the patriotically-minded national bourgeoisie could also occupy a worthy place in the political structure of Afghan society. The conference reckons that an alliance or bloc of different political forces could be created within the framework of the National Front, which must become an independent and influential sociopolitical organization.

On behalf of the PDPA and the country's government, and on behalf of all true Afghan patriots, the conference once again proposed to the opposition that all questions be resolved by peaceful means. It has proposed to the leadership of the "Alliance of the Seven" that it adopt a constructive stance on national reconciliation and, by means of mutual compromise, end the fratricidal war. The conference has invited the commanders of armed groups inside the country and also commanders of the second echelon who live abroad, to join the coalition administrative organs while at the same time preserving a certain amount of autonomy in the areas they control.

To further consolidate the PDPA and rid it of people who engage in factionalism and are tarnished with violations of party discipline, sluggishness, arrogance, or money-grubbing, the conference has decreed that the question of their membership in the PDPA must be resolved within the next 2-3 months.

In the area of military building, the conference has stipulated that attention be focused on further strengthening the combat might of the armed forces and achieving a level of combat readiness to enable the forces to counter the enemy successfully on their own.

In the sphere of the national economy, the conference has set the task of utilizing the potential of all sectors of the economy to restore and develop the country. The restructuring of the party's agrarian policy must be accelerated, and party influence among the peasants must be enhanced. It has been decided to devote the next PDPA Central Committee plenum to questions of the state of the agrarian sector and its development prospects.

In an atmosphere of frankness and sincerity, the conference delegates criticized the weak points in the functioning of the state agrarian sector and the work of agricultural cooperatives.

S.A. Keshtmand, member of the PDPA Central Committee Politburo and chairman of the DRA Council of Ministers, noted in his speech that the organs which were specially set up to implement the land reform have failed to give assistance to some 340,000 peasants and to ensure a fair distribution of water among them.

The General Party Conference adopted a decision to convene the Second PDPA Congress to coincide with the 10th anniversary of the April Revolution.

The conference approved a new edition of the PDPA action program which takes into account the conditions of the national democratic revolution in Afghanistan and the specific features of the current stage of its development and sets out political aims and tasks of the party in conditions of national reconciliation.

Najibullah, general secretary of the PDPA Central Committee, said in his speech at the end of the conference that the General Party Conference has convincingly confirmed the vital necessity and correctness of the party's course and has turned into a genuine university of national reconciliation.

The conference sent a letter of greetings to the CPSU Central Committee, the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, USSR Council of Ministers, and the entire Soviet people in connection with the 70th anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution.

## Party To 'Achieve Unity'

*LD250030 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1500 GMT 25 Oct 87*

[From the "International Panorama" program, presented by Vsevolod Ovchinnikov; report by Kabul correspondent M. Leshchinskiy]

[Text] [Ovchinnikov] A national conference of the PDPA was held this week in Kabul. Here's our first report:

[Begin Leshchinskiy recording] Even for the ancient town of Kabul, which has seen so much over the centuries, this last week was an unusual one, whether seen through the eyes of someone on his first visit here or someone who has lived here for many years. On the one hand, clearly something festive and celebratory was being prepared, with bright flags, banners, and posters in the streets; on the other hand, security measures were tightened; street and highway checks were more frequent. In the evenings, many buildings were illuminated, while somewhere nearby, one could hear explosions and artillery fire.

The city did not know that preparations were being made for an event which would not only go beyond everyday concerns and affairs, but also take on nationwide, and even international, significance. Conditions were dictated by the country's military and political situation, which remains extremely tense: there was no prior announcement of the day and opening time of the Second National PDPA conference.

The delegates to the conference, almost 700 in all, spent several days together in Kabul. They had been elected at local assemblies and conferences; and indeed it was there—in province, town and district party organizations—that the major and most acute problems and issues for party debate were identified. The crux of this 3-month-long open and frank discussion was the complex and equivocal implementation of the national reconciliation policy in Afghanistan. Ten months of active, combative work in this direction has not only sharply polarized all forces within the country and abroad, but has also revealed various negative trends inside the party itself.

Naturally, while striving for unity and national consensus among the people, the party is obliged above all to achieve unity in its own ranks, by resolutely eradicating favoritism and cliquishness, which for years have been corroding it like rust. In such conditions, the very fact that a national conference was convened—something which, incidentally, has not been achieved for over 5 years—bears witness to the party's vitality and its abilities for self-purification.

During the 13 days of the conference, almost 250 delegates spoke from the rostrum or to meetings in labor collectives and kishlaks, or else in the city's streets and mosques. It was stated frankly that external and internal factors are still considerably hampering the national consensus process, which needs to be speeded up immediately.

The delegates unanimously confirmed a redevised party action program and charter, resolutions on urgent tasks in bolstering PDPA unity in conditions of national reconciliation, and an appeal to the Afghan people. The party recognized as erroneous, and completely abolished, political slogans incomprehensible to the people and impracticable aims in the present stage. Once again, it was emphasized with complete certainty that the April Revolution is neither socialist nor proletarian, nor is the party communist. The party is placing nationwide interests above its own interests and class interests. In the name of the nationwide search for peace, a new political system is being created—a multiparty system with a coalition government. The PDPA does not lay claim to a monopoly of power.

But what about the opponents of reconciliation—the so-called "Alliance of the Seven" located in Pakistan? As far back as 10 months ago, the counterrevolutionary leaders published their manifesto. They vowed to hold

their own elections in Afghanistan, but this didn't come off. They trumpeted to the whole world that they were setting up an Afghan government in exile, but nothing came of that. They promised to create their own draft constitution and failed once again. Up until now, they have only been successful in one thing: continuing the bloodshed.

They managed to demonstrate this main political principle of theirs—which, incidentally, is financed by Western money—once again in Kabul: On the eve of the conference, terrorists left a car stuffed with a huge quantity of plastic explosives at a busy junction. The blast at the Haji Yaqub Mosque killed 29 civilians and injured dozens of others. A few more lives were claimed in the days that followed by rocket-propelled shells that struck residential buildings. There have been numerous others attempts too, but they have all been successfully averted. In this way, the terrorists are joining forces with Western propaganda, which has declared the PDPA to be disintegrated and torn apart by contradictions.

However, a good and impressive reply was given to them by 30,000 inhabitants of Kabul, who assembled in the city stadium a few hours after the end of the conference. The colorfulness of the rostrum could only be compared with the colorfulness of Afghan society itself. Peasants, artisans, small traders, rich entrepeneurs, soldiers, students, churchmen and representatives of various tribes and ethnic groups have understood and accepted the party's current main objective—to establish peace on Afghan soil. All the delegates to the national party conference attended that parade. There they began a new stage of party work—they set off on roads to the people, whom they are obliged to inform about what truly happened in Kabul.

Let us, too, take one of these roads. Peasant shajan has some distance to cover to get from Kabul to his native kishlak of Akaheli, but in the tradition of his forbearers he has decided to walk. After all, to this day, news in Afghanistan travels along roads, from person to person. It is not for nothing that the old folk here say it is better to know 1 man by name then 100 on sight. In this kishlak, they will now know Shajan, who was the first to bring them the news from Kabul. These people are illiterate, but just look how they are studying the, for them, incomprehensible pages of newsprint, as if seeking confirmation of what their young delegate has told them about the respect with which the peasants were discussed at the conference and about rectification of the persisting contradiction whereby in a peasant country, the least concern is shown for those who work the land. After all, they are suffering the most from the war. It is precisely in the kishlaks that the intransigent elements seek support. The old men showed Shajan their kishlak and their fields, and he told us about how they had driven bandits out of his kishlak, how they had set up a cooperative there, built a school and a kindergarten, and created a self-defense detachment. At the edge of the field, they are talking about the same things: about life, the harvest, common misfortunes and hopes.

Crops are being sown in many areas of Afghanistan at the moment—an ancient and eternal symbol of hope for the future, for a better life. It would be difficult to find a better image to end our reportage on the Second National PDPA Conference, which might go down into the people's history as a conference of peace and unity. However, time and concrete actions will tell. [end recording]

## West Europe

### Talks in Europarliament 'Of Vital Interest'

*PM231135 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 22 Oct 87 Second Edition p 4*

[Article by USSR Supreme Soviet Deputy Y. Zhukov: "Under One Roof. Europe Headed for the 21st Century"]

[Excerpts] Europe 1987. How does it feel as it heads toward the 21st century? What does its future look like? These questions kept cropping up during the talks the delegation from the USSR Parliamentary Group and the Soviet Committee for European Security and Cooperation had over an entire week with members of the European Parliament—first in Brussels, where the parliamentary groups work, and then in Strasbourg, where the plenary meetings are held. Many matters were discussed of vital interest to all Europeans—from the Atlantic to the Urals. More often than not, the question of building a common European home cropped up, how mutually advantageous cooperation can and must be organized among all countries and peoples on our old continent without exception. [passage omitted]

Common Sense Demands It [subhead]

The European Parliament is an EC body, democratically elected by universal suffrage. It has 518 members, representing 320 million citizens in 12 states. One of the problems the Strasbourg members are tackling at the moment is normalization of relations between the EC and CEMA, and, at the same time, with the CEMA member states.

The solution of normalization question is long overdue, particularly as back in 1975 the heads of 33 European states signed the Final Act of the All-European Conference on Security and Cooperation, whose second section envisages extensive development of economic links. But talks on the question of establishing normal relations between the EC and CEMA have dragged on endlessly. For a long time, cooperation with CEMA was viewed with skepticism in Brussels. I believe that our side, too, did not do everything it could during the stagnation period to achieve a constructive solution to suit both sides.

Now there are signs of reassuring changes. It would be fair to say that figures in the European Parliament interested in all-European cooperation have definitely played a constructive part in this.

A delegation from the socialist faction in the European Parliament—the biggest group, comprising 172 deputies—came to Moscow in December 1985. They were followed by a delegation from the Christian Democratic faction, the second largest—117 members. During talks at the USSR Supreme Soviet, both factions, as a whole constituting a majority in the European Parliament, advocated establishment of all-European cooperation. Now we have the return visit by a delegation from the USSR Parliamentary Group and further long conversations about how we are going to overcome alienation and start building a common European home through joint efforts.

The growing feeling in favor of cooperation is bound to affect the EC leading bodies' positions, although the force of inertia still has a very powerful effect there, preventing them from recognizing reality. Our interlocutors handed us the text of a speech made on 17 June in Copenhagen by EC Commission member W. de Clercq, who is responsible for community foreign relations and trade policy. His speech contained, as is customary in the West, an abundance of stereotype attacks on the "Eastern countries," but there were also words dictated by common sense.

Stressing the "nuances" between the EC and U.S. administration's stances regarding cooperation with the "Eastern countries," W. de Clercq said: "We have considerable grounds for a different approach, and that, in my opinion, is not a bad thing. It is natural. We live on the same continent as our Eastern neighbors; we are united by many things in our history, in our traditions, and in our culture. Our exchange with the Eastern countries is considerably greater than that of the United States. For example, the size of U.S. trade with the USSR is comparable to the size of its trade with the Ivory Coast, which could hardly be called a superpower. Our geographical proximity is another factor."

In conclusion, de Clercq made the meaningful observation: "Occasionally I get the impression that some Americans view Eastern Europe from such a distance that they can distinguish only the black and white tones. But we are closer, so we are able to see all the nuances. I believe this gives us grounds for adopting a more balanced stance vis-a-vis Eastern Europe."

Our delegation, naturally, did not hold talks with the EC Commission. We were the guests of the parliamentarians. But our interlocutors told us that they are expecting an early resumption of dialogue between the EC and CEMA, which must culminate in a victory for common sense—in normalization of relations.

Time Is Precious! [subhead]

Of course, during our conversations with our European Parliament colleagues we touched not only and not so much on economic matters as on the most important political problems, questions of creating a system of all-embracing international security and developing scientific and cultural cooperation, interparliamentary links, and humanitarian problems.

It was a wide-ranging, open discussion. At the conclusion both sides were aware of the vast, as yet unexplored, potential for cooperation afforded by the prospect of establishing working links between the USSR Supreme Soviet and the European Parliament—above all in the struggle for peace and disarmament.

We were familiarized with a number of resolutions adopted by the European Parliament, which follow the same lines as Soviet initiatives. The most consistent position on these matters is occupied by left-wing forces represented in the European parliament—its socialist and communist factions—and also by a small so-called "Rainbow" group, which comprises 20 members representating the "Green" party and environmental groups.

Addressing a joint press conference in which we were participants, Rudi Arndt, in particular, said: "It is with great hope and a sense of approval that we ackowledge and welcome Soviet initiatives on disarmament. They help the peoples to find a reasonable form of peaceful coexistence under a common European roof. The position of the Soviet Union and other socialist countries on disarmament questions is clear and precise. We agree that it is necessary to rid Europe of the burden of nuclear armaments as soon as possible."

President of the European Parliament Sir Henry Plumb accepted with thanks an invitation to head a parliamentary delegation to the USSR, presented to him by our delegation head L.N. Tolkunov, but he did say that it would only be possible after establishment of official relations between the EC and CEMA. It should be noted, however, that not everyone in Strasbourg shares this position. It is a busy time at the moment.

Do we have to wait for the diplomats to put the final comma in the agreement between the EC and CEMA, which, as we were told in Brussels and Strasbourg, is essentially near completion? Time will not wait, and we and our colleagues would be right to embark without unnecessary delay on further deepening of ties initiated by the visit by European parliamentary factions' delegations to Moscow and by the USSR Parliamentary Group's delegation to Brussels and Strasbourg.

## U.S., West Europe Export Meeting Noted

*LD232042 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1030 GMT 23 Oct 87*

[Commentary by Igor Surguchev on the arrival in Paris of special U.S. emissary Alan Vant for a meeting with West European export officials]

[Excerpts] The Coordinating Commission on Export Controls, Cocom, unites all countries of NATO, with the exception of Iceland and Japan. This guard dog, as it is

often called, for the West in the field of trade appeared at the height of the cold war and is a direct result of it. Under the pretext of concern that equipment and technology which could be used for military purposes should not be transferred from the West to countries of the so-called Eastern Bloc, Cocom has already done much to cut down on mutually-beneficial trade and economic ooperation between capitalist and socialist countries.

Due to work by this committee, with U.S. representatives showing particular energy, the lists of goods banned for export to socialist countries have recently been getting longer. For the most part, the Cocom ban is imposed not on so-called strategic output; this is graphically shown by desperate U.S. attempts to prevent deliveries of pipes and drilling installations from Western Europe to our country during construction of the Siberia-West Europe oil pipeline. Now, in connection with restructuring in the USSR and other socialist countries, when ways are being mapped out for expansion of and a qualitative growth in trade and economic cooperation between East and West, the same United States is striving even more to increase the role of Cocom as a brake on development of such cooperation.

You see, the purpose of Vant's mission is to pile up more and more new artificial [?barriers] to East-West trade. Moreover, in Washington special stress is put on the West's general interest in making economic progress in socialist countries very difficult—progress which, they say, depends on their trade and economic ties with capitalist countries. Of course, there is such a dependency, but as history has shown, it does not have a decisive influence on the economic development of socialist states. As far as the general interest of the West is concerned, with this thesis, the administration across the ocean is clearly concealing its own self-interested political and economic interests. [passage omitted]

The volume of U.S. trade with the Soviet Union and other European socialist countries, as is known, is not significant. In political terms, the course for undermining trade and economic relations between the East and West of our continent is nothing other than a blow to the Soviet concept of a common European home, which has had a widespread positive response from the public, business, and political circles in Western Europe countries. I am not going to predict the outcome of Vant's mission, but it obviously runs counter to the main positive tendencies in world politics.

## More on Soviet-Austrian Cooperation Meeting

### Ryzhkov Meets Economy Minister

*PM231510 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 23 Oct 87 Morning Edition p 1*

[TASS report: "Austrian Economy Minister Received"]

[Text] On 22 October N.I. Ryzhkov, chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, received in the Kremlin R. Graf, Austrian federal minister of the economy, who is in Moscow in connection with the routine session of the joint Soviet-Austrian commission on economic, scientific, and technical cooperation

The Soviet Union, N.I. Ryzhkov said, in pursuing a line of creating a comprehensive system of international security, regards further strengthening of friendly relations with Austria as an important avenue of its European policy. Consistent implementation of the course of restructuring creates favorable new opportunities for broad development of all-around East-West cooperation. This course received weighty confirmation at the recent CPSU Central Committee Plenum and USSR Supreme Soviet session, which gave new impetus to the process of radical transformation of all aspects of Soviet society.

During the conversation, the state of Soviet-Austrian relations was examined, as well as prospects for their development in light of implementation of the accords reached during the visit by the chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers to Austria in July of this year. Particular attention was devoted to questions of further expanding collaboration between the two countries in various spheres of interstate ties, including political contacts and strengthening of trust and a businesslike atmosphere in Soviet-Austrian relations. There was also discussion of the effectiveness of trade and economic exchange and activation of new forms of cooperation, such as setting up of joint enterprises, development of production sharing in various sectors of industry, and joint construction of projects in the USSR.

The participants in the conversation expressed the view that the work of the present session of the joint Soviet-Austrian commission will help to bring the available reserves more fully into play, with a view to improving business ties.

Both sides expressed an interest in ensuring that Soviet-Austrian relations, based on the principles of the 1955 State Treaty and the Law on the Permanent Neutrality of Austria, continue to develop upward, based on mutual respect, equality, and consideration for each other's legitimate rights and interests.

The conversation passed in a businesslike and constructive amtosphere. Participating on the Soviet side were: B.I. Aristov, USSR minister of foreign trade; G.S. Shikin, USSR ambassador to Austria; A.P. Bondarenko, member of the USSR Foreign Ministry Collegium; and V.I. Simakov, USSR trade representative in Austria. On the Austrian side were: R. Sallinger, president of the federal chamber of the economy, and H. Grubmayer, Austrian ambassador to the USSR.

### 19th Session Ends 23 Oct

*LD231341 Moscow TASS in English 1313 GMT 23 Oct 87*

[Text] Moscow October 23 TASS—The mixed Soviet-Austrian commission for economic, scientific and technological cooperation ended its 19th session here today

with a series of talks conducted by members of the Austrian delegation at Soviet ministries and departments and with establishment of a joint enterprise on Soviet territory.

The Soviet delegation to the session was headed by Soviet Foreign Trade Minister Boris Aristov; the Austrian, by Federal Economics Minister Robert Graf.

The session examined at a plenary sitting yesterday the entire range of trade, economic, scientific and technological ties, defined prospects and outlined ways for deepening relations between the two countries.

The head of the Soviet delegation, addressing the opening of the session, noted the solidity of the contractual basis of Soviet-Austrian economic relations and a substantial volume of work done in between the sessions.

He stressed the great importance of the visit of Nikolay Ryzhkov, chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, to Austria last summer and his talks with Federal Chancellor Franz Vranitzky on a broad range of issues, including economic, scientific and technological cooperation.

Stressing the Soviet Union's readiness for broader reciprocal trade and cooperation, Aristov said that the road towards broadening Soviet import lay in the corresponding expansion of the purchase of Soviet commodities and the partners' readiness to cover their half of the way in overcoming emerging difficulties.

Graf and other Austrian participants in the session voiced concern over the lowering of reciprocal trade. The Soviet Union, they emphasized, was Austria's biggest partner among the socialist nations, and the country's business community favoured both development of traditional trade and the search and use of new forms of cooperation.

The head of the Austrian delegation noted that 30 Austrian firms contemplated establishing joint ventures in the USSR, while six of them already signed protocols of intention.

The heads of the delegations signed a protocol on the results of the plenary sittings. The document analyzed the present state and outlined specific ways for perfecting trade, economic, scientific and technological cooperation.

This applied to the field of developing co-production, compensatory trade, expansion of Danube trading and use of other forms of invigorating mutually beneficial ties

The next, 20th session, is slated for Vienna, September-October 1988.

## Shultz Arrives in Belgium

*LD240839 Moscow TASS in English 0833 GMT 24 Oct 87*

[Text] Brussels October 24 Tass—U.S. Secretary of State George Shultz arrived in the Belgian capital.

He will today attend a special session of the NATO Council at foreign minister level to brief the allies on the results of his Moscow talks with the Soviet leadership on the more important international problems, including the issue of abolishing intermediate-range and shorter-range missiles.

## Parliamentary Delegation Visits Belgium

### Leaves Moscow 24 Oct

*LD241319 Moscow TASS in English 0817 GMT 24 Oct 87*

[Text] Moscow October 24 TASS—A delegation from the foreign affairs commissions of the two chambers of the Supreme Soviet (parliament) of the USSR left for Brussels on a return visit today.

It is being led by Yevgeniy Primakov, a member of the foreign affairs commission of the Soviet of the Union who heads the Soviet Academy of Sciences' Institute of the World Economy and International Relations.

### To Meet With Belgian Parliament

*LD241615 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1525 GMT 24 Oct*

[Text] Brussels, 24 Oct—A delegation of the foreign affairs commissions of the chambers of the USSR Supreme Soviet headed by Y.M. Primakov, member of the Foreign Affairs Commission of the Soviet of the Union and director of the World Economics and International Relations Institute of the USSR Academy of Scinces, arrived in the Belgian capital today on a return visit.

The members of the Soviet delegation will hold meetings and discussions at the foreign affairs commissions of both chambers of the Belgian Parliament and will discuss matters connected with development of parliamentary contacts and bilateral relations between the USSR and Belgium. In addition, a broad range of international problems, including the field of disarmament, will be discussed. As was stressed by Y.M. Primakov in an interview with a TASS corespondent, the Soviet leadership evaluates positively results of the talks with U.S. Secretary of State George Shultz held in Moscow. The Soviet leadership considers that in view of progress achieved, a Soviet-U.S. treaty on elimination of medium and shorter-range missiles can be signed in the near future. He also noted that this evaluation of the talks' results would be conveyed to the Belgian parliamentarians.

### German Communist Party Meeting Marks GOSR

*LD251612 Moscow TASS in English 1336 GMT 25 Oct 87*

[Text] Duesseldorf October 25 TASS—A celebration meeting of the German Communist Party, devoted to the 70th anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution, has been held in Duesseldorf, the chief city of the West German North-Rhine Westphalia land. It was attended by over 4,000 Communists of the country, representatives of progressive and democratic organizations of the FRG.

"The West German Communists, the democratic public of the country are watching with profound sympathy the great, really revolutionary efforts being undertaken in the USSR to tap the huge potentialities of socialism. We wholeheartedly wish the Soviet people, the Communists of the USSR successes in carrying out their mammoth plans", said chairman of the German Communist Party Herbert Mies, addressing the meeting.

The meeting was attended by a Soviet delegation led by Vadim Zagladin, member of the CPSU Central Committee, first deputy head of the CPSU Central Committee's International Department.

### U.S. Begins 'Dangerous Exercises' in FRG

*LD260503 Moscow TASS in English 0454 GMT 26 Oct 87*

[Text] Bonn October 26 TASS—U.S. troops began exercises with the use of Pershing-2 nuclear missiles, which are sited at U.S. bases near the West German cities of Heilbronn, Mutlangen, and Neu Ulm (Baden-Wuertemberg), on Sunday.

More than 4,500 servicemen and almost fifteen hundred military vehicles are involved in the dangerous exercises which envisage the transportation of the missiles through the busy highways to other lands of the FRG—Hessen and Rheinland-Pfalz.

### New Soviet Ambassador to Portugal Appointed

*LD241419 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1350 GMT 24 Oct*

[Text] Moscow, 24 Oct (TASS)—The USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium has appointed Valentin Kasatkin as USSR ambassador to the Republic of Portugal. The USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium has released Valentin Vdovin from the post of USSR Ambassador to the Republic of Portugal in connection with his transfer to another post.

### Supreme Soviet Delegation Departs for Netherlands

*LD251948 Moscow TASS in English 1745 GMT 25 Oct 87*

[Text] Moscow October 25 TASS—A delegation of the USSR Supreme Soviet led by Pavel Gilashvili, vice president of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet, left Moscow today on an official visit at the invitation of the Netherlands parliament.

The delegation includes deputies Yegor Isayev, Ivan Kalin, Mikhail Pichuzhkin and Viive Siitan.

## Latin America & Caribbean

### Rybakov Visits Cuba, Received by Castro

*PM261047 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 15 Oct 87 Second Edition p 5*

[TASS report under the general heading: "Official Reports"]

[Text] A delegation of CPSU party workers headed by O.K.Rybakov, deputy chief of a CPSU Central Committee Department, was in Cuba 4 through 11 October to familiarize itself with the experience of the Communist Party of Cuba [PCC] in leading the socialist economy and in further deepening Soviet-Cuban cooperation.

The delegation was received by Fidel Castro, first secretary of the PCC Central Committee and president of the Cuban Councils of State and Ministers.

### 1962 Cuban Crisis, Resolution Reviewed

#### 'Washington Got Carried Away'

*PM231512 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 23 Oct 87 Morning Edition p 5*

[Vitaliy Kobysh "Political Observer's Opinion": "Lessons of the Caribbean Crisis"]

[Excerpts] Now that we are living in the nuclear age and have little idea of what it could bring us tomorrow, it is particularly important to study events that occurred a quarter of a century ago and understand the operation of the machinery that set them in motion. I repeat, this is now more important than ever before.

It is not a question of sensations but rather of telling the whole truth better. That truth is horrifyingly simple: In October 1962, 25 years ago, the world was on the threshold of World War III; mankind was on the brink of thermonuclear catastrophe. [passage omitted]

U.S. authorities greeted the birth of the new, free, revolutionary Cuba with open hostility. To be truthful, I still do not understand what motivated Washington at that time, what it was thinking about to pursue such a course regarding a small country with which it was

probably possible to somehow come to an understanding. At that time, neither Fidel Castro nor his associates had any contact with the Soviet Union or with the other socialist countries; moreover, they did not even have elementary knowledge of Marxism-Leninism or communist teaching. No, at that time Washington was not thinking at all: Petty offenses and ambitions grew into great stupidity.

They began to persecute Cuba, first of all economically. This monocultural country, entirely dependent on the production and sale of sugar, was tightly blockaded: The sugar went to waste, and the country did not receive what was vitally necessary to the republic and its economy.

They wanted to bring the proud, valiant Cubans to their knees. What they achieved was something entirely different. Fidel Castro explained precisely what this was in his speech to the UN General Assembly in the fall of 1960. It was you, he said, turning to the Americans sitting in the auditorium, who pushed us into seeking new markets and new friends. We found them in the Soviet Union and the socialist world. We then became interested in socialism as such, began to study it, and concluded that we could not transform Cuba without socialism. You Americans taught us what to do.

Washington got carried away. If they could not break Cuba, at least they tried in every way at least to foul things up for it. Things went so far that the CIA made contact with the Mafia and hired "experts" who were supposed to kill Fidel Castro. Here, too, they failed. A particular ignominy for the United States was the failure of American intervention against Cuba at Playa Giron in April 1961, also organized by the CIA. The mercenaries, brought there on seven transport ships accompanied by aircraft and two destroyers from the U.S. Navy, were routed in 3 days by Cuban Army units along with people's militia detachments.

It was necessary to explain this yet again in order to understand the situation prevalent at that time. The United States had in effect declared war on the Island of Freedom. The Cubans were expecting at any moment to become the victim of another act of armed aggression, only this time not by mercenaries, but by the entire U.S. war machine. Even today they do not relax for a moment, being prepared to rebuff intervention by the hostile northern neighbor. But at that time the possibility of such an attack was so high, almost inevitable, that the Cuban leaders considered it necessary to take every measure to prevent stifling of their revolution.

In the summer of 1962, the Cuban Government turned to the Soviet Union with a request for additional aid for their country. In full accordance with international law, our two countries agreed on a number of measures aimed at strengthening sovereign Cuba's defensive capability. These measures made provision, in particular, for delivery of Soviet missile weapons. On our part, this decision appeared all the more justified because the United States had at that time begun to surround the whole perimeter of the Soviet Union with its missile bases. Was it justified that, having delivered our first missiles to Cuba, we did not make an official announcement of this, and moreover denied that fact, in particular, to the UN General Assembly? I think regardless of whether or not the Americans always announced deployment of their own missiles, our silence was not justified— still less, our denial of the fact.

An irresponsible, not to say disgraceful, anti-Soviet and anti-Cuban campaign was unleashed in the United States. The top American leaders, unfortunately, joined in this campaign. On 11 September 1962, the Soviet Union appealed to the U.S. Government to "show prudence, not lose self-possession, and assess soberly what its actions could lead to if it unleashes war." War, as you can see, was close at hand.

The Soviet warning was ignored by Washington. On 22 October, flagrantly violating the norms of international law, the U.S. authorities announced imposition in 2 days' time of a "strict quarantine on all types of offensive weapons shipped to Cuba."

What if we had announced such a "quarantine," forbidding the United States to import weapons into, say, South Korea, Turkey, and so forth? I hear the familiar voice of an American adversary, one of many: But our weapons are not offensive. That is the double standard: Everything Soviet is offensive; everything American is defensive. Millions of people in Indochina and elsewhere were therefore killed by American "defensive" weapons...

Meanwhile Soviet ships were on their way to Cuba; American warships barred their path. For several nights, there was no sleep in the top departments of either Moscow or Washington. It must be admitted that there was a common understanding on both sides: The irrevocable could happen at any moment.

It did not happen. Once again, both sides had the wisdom and courage to make mutual concessions. Intensive diplomatic contacts began. Exchange of messages between the Soviet and American leaders and talks within the UN framework made it possible to find a way out of the lethally dangerous impasse. On 20 November, the U.S. Government lifted its "quarantine." The United States announced, by way of a pledge, that Cuba would not be subjected to an attack and invasion either by the United States or by other states in the Western Hemisphere. The Soviet missiles were withdrawn from Cuba.

There is doubtless no need to enlarge on the importance and significance of this event as a precedent for our time.

But this story has no happy end. Neither we nor, by all appearances, the Americans are about to launch missiles at each other; on the contrary, everything seems to be moving towards our beginning together to destroy them soon. However, so many missiles and warheads have been stockpiled by them over the last 25 years that the nuclear threat, in the global sense, has increased immeasurably, and we are all now in a kind of permanent "Caribbean crisis." What better time for us to agree on total elimination of nuclear missile weapons too? But miracles do not happen.

What happened a quarter of a century ago certainly cannot be called a miracle. Both sides—the Soviet leadership headed by N.S. Khrushchev and the American administration, which was then headed by President J.F. Kennedy—took up a tough, firm position but ultimately demonstrated common sense, flexibility, and prudence.

In today's world, in the situation mankind now finds itself, such things are not forgotten.

### U.S.'Hegemonistic Aims' Noted

*LD242224 Moscow TASS in English 2204 GMT 24 Oct 87*

[Text] Moscow October 24 TASS—Follows commentary by Nikolay Chigir, a TASS political news analyst:

A quarter of a century has passed since the times when the anti-Cuban policy of the United States, which set itself the aim to stifle at any cost the first socialist revolution in the Western Hemisphere, brought the world to the verge of a nuclear catastrophe. Yet as the experience of the past 25 years has shown, the militaristic circles of the USA have not learned a proper lesson from the dramatic developments of the 1962 Caribbean crisis. As before, they continue banking on force, on armed interference in other countries' internal affairs in the name of achieving their hegemonistic aims. This is seen from the undeclared war of the USA against Nicaragua and U.S. military provocations in the Persian Gulf and other actions fraught with unpredictable consequences.

Moreover, even today these circles are trying to present in a distorted light events which took place 25 years ago, by picturing the Soviet Union as the culprit of the most dangerous international crisis of those times.

Yet the facts, repeatedly covered by the world press, are irrefutable evidence that it is precisely the Washington leaders who created a seat of war in the Caribbean basin and confronted the world with the threat of nuclear madness. It is precisely on their instructions that the CIA engineered an intervention of Cuba by hirelings in April 1961, and when that adventure turned into a fiasco, Washington started preparing for a direct armed invasion of Cuba. It is apt to recall, in particular, the resolution adopted by the U.S. Congress then pointing out the need for using against Cuba any methods that might be required, down to the use of arms.

It became clear in conditions which took shape then, that a U.S. armed invasion of Cuba was inevitable. Cuba and the Soviet Union were forced to take the necessary counter-measures to make the USA think twice before launching an adventure. As a result of the Soviet-Cuban talks, a decision was taken in the summer of 1962 on deployment in Cuba of Soviet medium-range missiles as the sole effective means for preventing a U.S. intervention. That forced measure was of a purely defensive character. At the same time, the Soviet Union urged the USA to show a sensible approach and evaluate soberly consequences of aggressive actions against Cuba.

Washington did not heed the voice of reason and passed a decision on introducing a "quarantine" as of October 24, 1962, or to be more precise, Cuba's naval blockade. Not only the USA, but also its NATO allies, were preparing for an armed conflict. The Soviet Union took not only the necessary measures to prevent an aggression, but did its utmost, together with Cuba and other socialist countries, to avert the threat of nuclear war, to end the conflict peacefully. As a result of the Soviet-American talks held then, an agreement was reached under which U.S. President John Kennedy lifted the "quarantine" and gave assurances not to attack Cuba, while the Soviet Union withdrew its missiles from Cuba.

The main lesson of the Caribbean crisis is that in this nuclear age, when any conflict may bring about most terrible consequences for humanity, it is madness to rattle the saber and bank on force to resolve disputable international problems and situations. The events of the Caribbean crisis have shown that only sanity and a sober appraisal of the realities, renunciation of all power methods in international politics, and commitment to peaceful political methods open the sole possible way of ridding mankind of the threat of a nuclear catastrophe.

### Death Anniversary of Che Guevara Remembered

*LD231114 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1800 GMT 8 Oct 87*

[From the "Vremya" newscast; unattributed commentary]

[Text] Today is the 20th anniversary of the death of that revolutionary and internationalist Ernesto Che Guevara. During his lifetime this man was loved by everyone who knew him. He was loved for his fearlessness, selflessness, and devotion. He was a doctor by profession, and his future promised to be calm and prosperous. But Che Guevara chose the difficult path of revolutionary and internationalist. He could not reconcile himself to routine. He was always straining to be where he thought he was most needed.

In Mexico, Che Guevara got to know Fidel Castro and was with him when he landed from the yacht *Granma* on Cuban soil. Long years of revolutionary struggle began. Then there was victory and peaceful construction. Che Guevara was a member of the leadership of the united revolutionary organizations, president of the National Bank, and minister of industry of Cuba. Wherever he was sent, he fulfilled all his instructions with honor. For example, Che Guevara did much to strengthen fraternal relations between Cuba and our country.

He was an exceptionally determined person who approached his goal, the accelerated construction of a communist society in Cuba, by his own path. Along this path there were doubts, blunders, and mistakes. For instance, he wrongly denied the principle of material incentive in socialist work, assuming that moral rejuvenation of society after the revolution's victory could take place on its own. His ideas that successful development of the new Cuba was directly linked with the success of revolutionary movements in other Latin American countries were also questionable. These ideas took him off to Bolivia, where he attempted to create a nucleus of partisan opposition. The routing of the detachment and Che Guevara's death were seen by revoiutionaries both as a tragedy and as a lesson, and the theory and practice of the insurgency struggle were profoundly reassessed.

This legendary man lived a mere 39 years. But even after his death, he is loved, and his memory is respected. Che Guevara was, and remains for us, an ardent revolutionary and a heroic fighter for the noble ideals of socialism.

## U.S. Invasion Protests Planned in Grenada

*LD250014 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 2145 GMT 24 Oct 87*

["From the "International Diary" presented by Georgiy Alekseyev]

[Text] Today is the fourth anniversary of the armed U.S. invasion of Grenada. For a small state in the Caribbean basin, which Grenada is, those events were tragic. As you recall, the excuse for the armed U.S. action was the alleged intention to defend U.S. citizens. The people of Grenada will mark today's anniversary with civil disobedience and protests against the pro-U.S. regime.

Having eliminated the revolutionary gains of the Grenadian people, the U.S. occupiers established an obedient regime on the island and revived draconian rules, in force in the country back in the time of the Gairy puppet regime, which was overthrown in 1979 by patriots led by Maurice Bishop.

The consequences of the U.S. intervention are also depressing for Grenada'sconomy. The authorities' economic course has led to the impoverishment of the overwhelming majority of Grenadians. Allocations for social needs have been revoked, and the foreign debt has reached an unprecedented level of $220 million.

## Nicaraguan Letter to UN Expresses 'Alarm'

*LD251653 Moscow TASS in English 1544 GMT 25 Oct 87*

[Text] Managua October 25 TASS—Nicaraguan Foreign Minister Miguel d'Escoto sent a letter to U.N. secretary-general expressing alarm over the actions of the U.S. Government which stubbornly refuses to comply with the judgements by the International Court of Justice in the Hague. The letter by the Nicaraguan minister was circulated as an official document of the U.N. General Assembly and Security Council.

The U.S. Administration, contrary to the ruling by the International Court of Higher Instance and in violation of fundamental standards and principles of international law and the U.N. Charter, has intensified the actions of the military and paramilitary nature against Nicaragua, the letter points out.

Washington's unlawful policy includes financing, support and guidance of the groups of counter-revolutionary mercenaries. It brings about mass abductions and forced movement of people, torture, killings, acts of state terorrism against economic facilities, intrusions into Nicaragua's airspace and territorial waters. This policy led to a devastating war to which 43,176 people fell victim. The material damage inflicted upon the republic runs into over 2.8 billion dollars, the letter emphasizes.

The Sandinist government expressed readiness to enter talks with the ringleaders of the American Indian terrorist organisation "Yatama". Tomas Borge, Nicaraguan interior minister, told a press conference.

He noted that this decision was made with an eye of bringing peace to the country's Atlantic coast within the shortest possible time and ending bloodshed. But, before negotiations with the government begin, the "Yatama" should halt the anti-government activity an make use of the amnesty announced by the republic's leadership.

The minister pointed out that the responsibility for continued bloodshed in the country rested squarely with the United States and its mercenaries.

Elliot Abrams, U.S. assistant secretary for inter-American affairs, in an interview given to Nicaraguan journalists and transmitted via satellite, reaffirmed the Reagan administration's intention to carry on the aggressive policy towards Nicaragua.

Expressing doubt over a possible peaceful settlement of the situation in Central America on the basis of the Guatemala Agreements, he made it clear that the United States claimed the role of an arbiter of the destinies of the Central American peoples.

Abrams actually rejected the efforts by Central American states to overcome the crisis independently and made attempts to force on them a plan of settlement taht

infringes upon Nicaragua's national interests. He also confirmed Washington's intention to continue giving all-round aid to the contras.

### Costa Rican President Arias Congratulated

*LD241324 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1150 GMT 24 Oct*

[Text] Moscow, 24 Oct (TASS)—The USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium has congratulated Costa Rican President Oscar Arias Sanchez on his being awarded the 1987 Nobel Peace Prize. His activity directed at reaching a peaceful settlement to the situation in South America was marked with this honorary award.

"We are certain, the congratulatory telegram says, that international recognition and support for the efforts of South American states, the Contadora group, and the support group for the creation of stable conditions for peaceful, creative activity by the peoples of the region have also been manifested in this award. The results of the conference in Guatemala demonstrated convincingly the great potential of Central American countries, and of Latin American countries in general, in the matter of finding mutually acceptable solutions to complicated problems."

The Soviet Union, like all peace-loving countries, approves and supports the accords reached in Guatemala, the telegram notes. It says "we again confirm our determination to aid the efforts to implement the decision made by the presidents of five Central American countries."

### Industrial Agreement Signed With Argentina

*LD241557 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 0828 GMT 24 Oct*

[Text] Buenos Aires, 24 October (TASS)—The 10th meeting of the joint Soviet-Argentinian commission for trade, economic, and scientific and technical cooperation has ended here with the signing of an agreement on industrial cooperation and the final act. During the talks, the participants discussed conditions and prospects for further development of bilateral cooperation and its new forms, which answer both countries' present requirements.

V.P. Pavlov, USSR deputy foreign trade minister, and Juan Ciminari, Argentinian state secretary of industry and foreign trade, held a press conference and expressed satisfaction with the results of the joint commission's work. They underlined the great possibilities for developing further mutually profitable business links between the USSR and Argentina.

### CPSU Delegation Returns From Venezuela

*PM251305 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 14 Oct 87 Second Edition p 5*

[TASS report: "Delegation's Return"]

[Text] The CPSU delegation headed by M.A. Knyazyuk, member of the CPSU Central Committee and first secretary of Ivanovo CPSU Obkom, returned to Moscow from Venezuela 13 October. The delegation had been in that country at the invitation of the Venezuelan Communist Party.

## Political and Social

### Highlights of 70 Years' Reporting Cited

PM261030 [Editorial report] Moscow *Izvestiya* in Russian on 23 October 1987 carries on page 4 a full-page feature headed "From October to Restructuring." The editorial introduction reads:

"We continue the story of the path traveled by our country and people in the 70 Soviet years. A story based on *Izvestiya* publications over the past years. This time it covers the period from the start of the Great Patriotic War until the sixties. From the terrible autumn of 1941, when the enemy was at the gates of Moscow, to Gagarin's flight into space. Only 20 years. But what a time!

"Of course, today we look from the standpoint of our own time at much that was written about in the forties, fifties, and sixties. But the newspapers talk the language of their own time, their own day, and take us back to those events.

"Let us see what they say. Let history speak, history written hot on the heels of events."

The feature consists of extracts and photos from the newspapers of selected years from 1941 to 1961, and includes the following extract for 1956, headed "Loyalty to Leninism Is the Source of Our Victories":

"The greatest significance for the development of our party's internal life and that of the entire Soviet people and for increasing the creative activeness of communists and all Soviet people is attached to the 20th CPSU Congress' resolute stand against the personality cult, which is alien to the spirit of Marxism-Leninism and which belittled the role of the party and the people's masses, undervalued the role of collective leadership in the party and country, and generated serious shortcomings and distortions in work. Life shows that the work being consistently carried out by the CPSU Central Committee to overcome vestiges of the personality cult, restore the norms of party life and principles of collective leadership elaborated by Lenin, and develop self-criticism and criticism of shortcomings has generated a tremendous upsurge in the activeness and initiative of the people's masses."

### Decision Adopted on Moscow Modernization

*LD231246 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1200 GMT 23 Oct 87*

[Text] The USSR Council of Ministers has adopted a decision on the integral modernization and development of the historical center of Moscow in the period up to the year 2000. It points out that the center of the capital, with the Kremlin, Red Square, the Vladimir Ilich Lenin Mausoleum, and many historical and cultural monuments is inseparably linked in the minds of Soviet people with the history of the motherland and with the establishment and development of the first socialist state in the world. The prospects for the modernization and development of the traditional center of the capital are of great political significance for the whole Soviet people. Preserving the individual appearance and the historical milieu of the center should be regarded as an important urban construction and ideological task which is important for the whole people.

The decision points out that in recent decades the development of the center of the capital was carried out without a precise urban construction and ideological concept and without wide public discussion of the cardinal problems of its modernization and development. As a result the contemporary center of Moscow does not fully meet the requirements of the Muscovites living and working there, as well as of tourists and guests in the capital.

The USSR Council of Ministers considers it necessary to carry out in the period 1987-2000 a fundamental redevelopment of the historical center of Moscow on the basis that all work must be done to the highest technical and architectural standards and on the basis of profound scientific studies and historical research and in an atmosphere of glasnost and democracy.

The USSR Council of Ministers decision will be published in full in the press.

### Planning, Budget Commission Opens Meeting

*LD260948 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 0900 GMT 26 Oct 87*

[Text] In connection with the forthcoming session of the RSFSR Supreme Soviet, a plenary meeting of the Planning and Budget Commission of the highest body of state power of the republic has just started. At the meeting, the results of the provisional review of sections of the drafts of the plan and budget of the Russian federation for the 3d year of the 5-year plan will be summed up.

### Aliyev Retires as First Deputy Premier

*LD231739 Moscow TASS in English 1732 GMT 23 Oct 87*

[Text] Moscow October 23 TASS—The Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet has met Geydar Aliyev's request to relieve him of duties of first deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers in connection with retirement on health grounds.

### Meeting Cites Computer Production, Education

*LD232252 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1600 GMT 23 Oct 87*

[Text] In the CPSU Central Committee several questions have been examined concerning the implementation of the decision by the CPSU Central Committee and the USSR Council of Ministers on steps to achieve

computer literacy for students in secondary schools and to widely introduce electronic computer equipment into the educational process, on the state of affairs regarding the development of school personal computers, and on the organization of mass computer production. Comrades Zaykov and Ligachev, CPSU Central Committee Politburo members, CPSU Central Committee secretaries, heads of ministries and departments, and CPSU Central Committee and USSR Council of Ministers officials participated in examining these matters.

It was noted that in a short time the development of two basic models of school personal computers, corresponding to the present world level, has been completed, and serial production of them has begun. The necessary scientific methodological materials have been prepared and published en masse. Research has been expanded on the use of computers for teaching a number of disciplines.

At the same time the attention of heads of ministries and departments responsible for fulfilling the tasks set was drawn to the need for further perfection of that work. Comrades Zaykov and Ligachev familiarized themselves with industrial models of Soviet computer equipment, with which secondary education establishments have started to be equipped; with the methodology of teaching using computer technology systems; and with the state of the development of educational software.

In the information center of the USSR State Committee for Computer Technology and Information Science, opened on Smolenskiy Bulvar, the secretaries of the CPSU Central Committee familiarized themselves with a number of new types of services being provided for the population and enterprises.

The task has been set to develop further, in all regions of the country, information and computer services for the purpose of acquainiting much of the population in the use of personal computers in everyday life and professional work.

## TV Screening of Movie 'Risk' Previewed

PM231851[Editorial Report] Moscow *Izvestiya* in Russian 24 October 1987 Morning Edition carries on page 7 as part of its "TV and Us" roundup of television program reviews and previews an unattributed photofeature entitled "Risk." Head-and-shoulders photographs of Tukhachevskiy, Khrushchev with Gagarin, and John F. Kennedy are accompanied by an unattributed caption which reads:

"The artistic/documentary [khudozhestvenno-publitsisticheskiy] movie 'Risk,' filmed at the M. Gorkiy Studios, is premiered on Central Television Channel 1 on Monday 26 October.

"The producer and director is Dmitriy Barshchevskiy. His previous movies 'The Life and Love of Aleksandr Blok' and 'Two Chapters From a Family Diary' involved actors. The new work is based on documents.

"'We wanted to tell unknown things about people and events known to all, the truth, without forgotten names and unnamed heroes, about pages in history—exalted and bitter, harsh history. In the movie you will see Sergey Korolev and Werner von Braun, the Rosenbergs, Stalin, and Tukhachevskiy, Khrushchev and Kennedy, Gagarin... Through the will of time and destiny they were all involved in the story of the development of missiles—the very ones which today give rise to the main question of the age: Is there or is there not to be life on our planet?...'

"The photographs show shots from the movie depicting M. Tukhachevskiy, N. Khrushchev, Yu. Gagarin, and J. Kennedy."

## Gromyko Addresses Winners at Awards Ceremony

*PM261335 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 23 Oct 87 Second Edition p 2*

[TASS report. "High Awards of the Motherland"]

[Text] A.A. Gromyko presented orders to a group of state and party figures in the Kremlin 22 October.

Orders of Lenin were presented to Deputy Chairmen of the USSR Council of Ministers Yu.p. Batalin, G.G. Vedernikov, and Yu.d. Maslyukov; I.S. Boldyrev, first secretary of the Stavropol CPSU Kraykom; A.D. Budyka, USSR minister of grain products; B.I. Gostev, USSR minister of finance; and I.A. Mozgovoy, secretary of the Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee. Orders of the October Revolution were presented to G.S. Kabasin, first secretary of the Voronezh CPSU Obkom; K.F. Katushev, chairman of the USSR State Committee for Foreign Economic Relations; and O.I. Lobov, deputy chairman of the RSFSR Council of Ministers. And the Order of the Labor Red Banner was presented to R.S. Bobovikov, first secretary of the Vladimir CPSU Obkom.

A.A. Gromyko delivered a speech at the award presentation ceremony. He said:

I believe that the plenum of our party's Central Committee which was held yesterday has left a great and strong impression upon all of us. Many of you attended the session and have a first-hand personal experience of this. The plenum will, unquestionably, be of great importance for the party and the people and our country as a whole.

I am convinced that all Communists and the entire people are looking forward with excitement to the upcoming events in connection with the glorious jubilee—the 70th anniversary of the Great October Socialist

Revolution. The party and the people do not doubt that the country will cross this boundary in a worthy fashion and stride on confidently toward new achievements and new triumphs.

Each one of us felt all this yesterday in the general atmosphere which reigned at the party Central Committee plenum. We have every reason for confidence, and I want to particularly emphasize this word—confidence—that our policy of restructuring will be translated into reality. This confidence in the success of our cause must be transmitted, and is being transmitted, from the Central Committee, from the party as a whole, to the entire people.

Now a word about the awards which you have received. One could, of course, make a special speech about each one of you, comrades. But is is not possible to say everything. Therefore, conveying the opinion of the CPSU Central Committee, Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev, general secretary of the Party Central Committee, the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, and the Soviet Government, I would just like to congratulate each one of you separately, and all of you together, sincerely and with all my heart on the awards which you have received.

Naturally, it is usual to "peg" awards—if you permit the expression—to special dates. This is the custom, but the orders themselves are bestowed by the state for work, for efforts to the benefit of the people. This wholly applies also to you, especially in view of the positions which you all occupy.

In conclusion I would like to express confidence that you will continue to discharge with honor your lofty and responsible duties in your respective posts. I am confident that you will go on repeatedly to give the party and the country cause for joy with your good work. I wish you new successes!

I.A. Mozgovoy expressed cordial gratitude on the part of the award winners to the party Central Committee, the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, and the Soviet Government for the high assessment of their work.

The award presentation ceremony was attended by P.N. Demichev, candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and first deputy chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, and T.N. Menteshashvili, secretary of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium.

### Demichev Decorates Armed Forces Pilots

*LD242305 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1400 GMT 24 Oct 87*

[Text] Demichev, candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo, first deputy chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, today in the Kremlin met a group of USSR Armed Forces pilots and handed them certificates conferring the honorary titles "meritorious military pilot of the USSR" and "meritorious military navigator." Similar certificates were handed to a group of civil aviation airways commanders. The pilots also received certificates conferring the honorary titles "meritorious test pilot of the USSR" and "meritorious test navigator of the USSR." The pilots and navigators were given the corresponding breast insignia.

### Demichev Presents National Awards 13 Oct

*PM251357 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 14 Oct 87 Second Edition p 6*

[TASS report: "Award Presentation"]

[Text] On 13 October in the Kremlin P.N. Demichev, candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and first deputy chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, presented USSR awards to party and state workers, leaders of a number of ministries and departments, and figures in science and culture.

Academician N.N. Moiseyev was presented with the Order of Lenin, and A.Kh. Bystrov, section chief in the CPSU Central Committee Administration of Affairs, received the Order of the October Revolution.

Orders of the Labor Red Banner, Orders of the Peoples' Friendship, a "Badge of Honor," and "For Labor Valor" and "For Labor Excellence" medals were also awarded.

Certificates conferring the honorary title of "People's Artiste of the Soviet Union" were presented to "Moskontsert" artiste I.D. Kobzon and to Moscow State Philharmonia soloist and USSR State Chamber Orchestra artistic director V.V. Tretyakov, and sculptor O.K. Komov received the honorary title of "People's Artist of the Soviet Union."

On behalf of the CPSU Central Committee, the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium and the Soviet Government, P.N. Demichev cordially congratulated the award winners and wished them new success in their work.

The award winners expressed their profound gratitude to the Communist Party and the Soviet state for the high assessment of their activity.

### Khomyakov Coreport to Supreme Soviet on Budget

*PM241247 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 21 Oct 87 Morning Edition pp 2-3*

["Coreport of the Plan and Budget and other Soviet of the Union Standing Commissions" delivered by A.A. Khomyakov, deputy chairman of the Plan and Budget Commission, at the USSR Supreme Soviet Soviet of the Union 19 October evening session: "On the State Plan for the Economic and Social Development of the USSR in 1988, the Progress of the Fulfillment of the Plan in 1987, the USSR State Budget for 1988, and the Implementation of the State Budget for 1986"]

[Text] Comrade Deputies! Our country is on the threshold of a portentous date—its 70th anniversary. Collectives at enterprises and organizations are working intensively to implement their pledges to fulfill the plan for

the first 2 years of the 5-year plan before the jubilee of Soviet power. Agricultural workers with the active support of townspeople are completing the harvesting in difficult conditions. All this work is taking place in the context of the practical implementation that has been launched of the decisions of the CPSU Central Committee June (1987) Plenum and the seventh session of the USSR Supreme Soviet on fundamentally restructuring the management of an economy geared to fulfilling the task of fully revealing and utilizing the advantages and potential of socialism. Success in accelerating the country's development will largely depend on how fully the decisions made are reflected in the plan targets for 1988.

In accordance with the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium instructions, Soviet of the Union standing commissions along with Soviet of Nationalities commissions made a preliminary examination of the plan and budget submitted by the government to the USSR Supreme Soviet. The State Plan for the Economic and Social Development of the USSR in 1988 was drawn up in accordance with the decisions of the 27th CPSU Congress and the 5-year plan targets and on the basis of the USSR Law "On the State Enterprise (Association)." The plan reinforces the positive progress in developing the Soviet economy. Social production in 1988 will develop at rates in excess of the average annual rates over the 5-year period. The social thrust of the plan will be stepped up. A fundamentally new structure for the State Plan has been formulated on the basis of new indicators geared to liberating economic processes from the pressure of expenditure-based approaches and switching to primarily economic management methods.

The USSR State Budget for 1988 provides the necessary financial resources for the measures outlined in the plan. It is planned to enhance the role of the resources held by enterprises and organizations and their funds in developing production, accelerating scientific and technical progress, and resolving the questions of the social development of collectives and the provision of material incentives for conscientious and creative labor.

Democratic initiatives were utilized more extensively in drawing up the State Plan and Budget. The examination and ratification of the plans for enterprises' economic and social development took place, as a rule, with the direct active participation of labor collectives. V.I. Lenin saw the encouragement of the masses to "participate effectively, directly, and universally in management" as the "guarantee of the complete victory of the revolution and its firm, well-conceived, and planned onward march."

In analyzing the plan indicators, the work of sectors, and the development of union republics, the standing commissions devoted particular attention to the implementation of radical reform of national economic management under the conditions of a substantial expansion of the range of enterprises switching to complete economic accountability [khozyaystvennyy raschet] and self-financing. On the basis of a study by the deputies of the documents presented and information on the actual state of affairs locally the commissions concluded that the necessary stability has not yet been achieved and deep-seated acceleration factors have not yet been brought into play in developing the economy. The smooth working of many national economic sectors has not been ensured.

The situation with regard to backing up production plans with material and technical resources remains tight. The main reason for this is that resource-saving work is still being conducted sluggishly. The expenditure-based mechanism has been condemned, but the inertia of its action still has a very, very serious effect. We smelt over three times more steel and produce 2.5 times more cement and mineral fertilizers per unit of national income in comparison with certain developed capitalist countries. The targets envisaged by the 5-year plan for improving the efficiency of resource utilization and reducing the metal-intensiveness of national income are not being fulfilled. This will entail an increase in the production of material resources over and above that envisaged in the 5-year plan.

The introduction of intensive methods into production and strict savings of resources must become the rule for every workday. These are the most important reserves of acceleration, even though they are difficult. The more economical and rational utilization of resources also depends on improving material and technical supply. The USSR Gossnab and its territorial organs must actively implement the decisions made on these questions.

In their work the commissions devoted particular attention to questions of the development of the machine building complex. Serious concern is aroused by the fact that many targets stipulated by the decisions of directive organs have not been fulfilled. Growth rates this year have been considerably lower in production and machine building than in industry as a whole.

The reasons for this are the unsatisfactory state of affairs with the introduction of capacities and new equipment and technology. State acceptance has revealed the true state of affairs with the quality of machine-building output and has exposed the problem of the demands of standards and technical conditions being essentially ignored and production techniques being seriously violated. Certain leaders are trying to pin the blame for their production breakdowns on state acceptance. But the deputies believe that state acceptance helps sectors and that its activity—the scale of which will increase in the coming year—should only be seen from this standpoint.

A large proportion of the new equipment that is being created lags behind the best world achievements. In this situation it is hard to count on machine building having a transforming influence on the entire program of national economic intensification.

The disruption in machine-tool manufacture and instrument making has a particularly severe effect on the pace of technical progress. Intersector scientific and technical complexes are conducting their work unsatisfactorily. Analysis of their activity shows that many of them have to all intents and purposes failed to embark on the creation and introduction into production of new-generation equipment and technology. At the same time there are also brilliant examples of effective work by these complexes, such as the "Mikhrokhirurgiya Glaza" [eye microsurgery] and "Rotor" Intersector Scientific and Technical Complexes. This shows how great is the potential inherent in this form of pooling the efforts of science and production in areas where people are concerned about their work and put their hearts into it.

USSR Council of Ministers standing organs, the relevant ministries and departments, and the USSR State Committee for Science and Technology must maintain close control over the work of intersector scientific and technical complexes and improve the efficiency of their activities. There is no time now for slacking. The national economy expects real returns today from these complexes.

The switching of the enterprises of a number of ministries as a whole to complete economic accountability and self-financing requires a substantial improvement in the level of economic work and must be the central question in their work. It would seem that enterprises ought to have tightened up and instilled order in questions on which the prosperity of collectives and each worker now directly depends. However, this has not happened. At USSR Ministry of the Automotive Industry enterprises, for instance, the fulfillment of output sales targets taking account of deliveries has deteriorated. The plan for the most important types of output has not been fulfilled. The measures taken to strengthen enterprises' finances are not having the proper effect.

The commissions draw attention to the fact that, since enterprises and organizations subordinate to more than 20 ministries and departments will be switched to complete economic accountability as of next year, they must draw conclusions from others' mistakes in order to prevent their collectives or the national economy as a whole being placed in a difficult situation. The healthy financial state of enterprises is the most important factor requiring the transition to new economic management methods. At the same time, the number of loss-making enterprises under the USSR Ministry of the Machine Tool and Tool Building Industry or the USSR Ministry of Tractor and Agricultural Machine Building, for instance, is not only not falling, but continuing to grow. Rescheduling of debts to banks, suppliers, and contractors is increasing.

The work of enterprises on the basis of complete economic accountability is complicated by old approaches in the activity of the central apparatus of ministries and departments. New plan indicators and normatives (including those in the plan for 1988) are sometimes adjusted to fit in with the targets previously set for enterprises. This emasculates the idea of economic reform and leaves enterprises essentially where they were before. Thousands of instructions and provisions which do not correspond with, and sometimes simply contradict, the new economic approaches continue to operate at ministries and departments.

Formalism and the habit of staging unsystematic campaigns still often stand in the way of improving the level of economic work. In particular, as checks at a number of Moscow enterprises subordinate to the USSR Ministry of the Automotive Industry, the USSR Ministry of the Electrical Equipment Industry, the USSR Ministry of the Machine Tool and Tool Building Industry, and certain other ministries showed, economic leaders often approached such an important matter as the transition to multishift working in a formalistic way. The terrible old stereotype of just doing things for the record still operates. One shift is artificially divided into two. No concern is shown for working conditions, material and technical supply, or the work of transport, catering organizations, and the medical services available to working people.

Unfortunately, this position affects not only the multishift system. As a result, good and sweeping initiatives are discredited and people's faith in the seriousness of plans is undermined. We must use every means to resolutely combat these phenomena and those who love easy reports and have adapted themselves even under the new conditions so as to take things easy and do virtually nothing for restructuring. The practical implementation of adopted decisions, the maintenance of strict discipline in fulfilling plans and contracts, in observing thrift techniques and the thrift policy, and in creating normal working and living conditions for people, and many other questions must be constantly monitored.

Central economic organs—the USSR Gosplan, the USSR Ministry of Finance, the USSR State Committee on Prices, and the USSR State Committee for Labor and Social Problems—must devote additional attention to questions of the effectiveness of economic levers and incentives in improving the efficiency of enterprises' work and in increasing the relationship between their efficiency and the material incentives given to their leaders.

In examining the country's plan and budget the standing commissions focused on the questions of implementing the strong social policy of the party and the state. The plan for 1988 stipulates targets equal to or even higher than the 5-year plan level for such important general indicators of improvements in the Soviet people's prosperity as the growth in per capita real income, average monthly salaries, and public consumption funds.

It is very important that the potential of enterprises and organizations to boost the prosperity of every worker and ensure the social development of the entire labor collective dependent on the results of work is being considerably expanded. The commissions note with satisfaction that the 1988 plan for the development of the material base of the nonproduction sphere stipulates 17 percent more funds than were planned in the 5-year plan. And the proportion of housing built on the basis of funds earned by enterprises will increase by 200 % in comparison with the 1987 plan, while the proportion of other sociocultural facilities to be built on this basis will increase by 400 % and more. Housing in the Far East will be built at a preferential rate.

The introduction of state acceptance of finished projects will be introduced into housing and sociocultural construction as of next year. This will create the conditions for improving construction quality. At the same time the USSR Gosstroy and construction ministries must draw conclusions from the shortcomings and negative consequences which occurred during the introduction of state acceptance into industry in order to prevent disruptions in fulfilling the targets for the commissioning of projects owing to their low quality.

The commissions noted that a major step had been taken in implementing their persistent recommendations that the lags in the municipal economy caused by housing construction be overcome. Capital investment in developing this sphere through state allocations and kolkhoz funds will increase by 27 % next year in comparison with the figures stipulated by the 5-year plan. The task of union republic councils of ministers and Soviet ministries and departments is to launch work to completely assimilate this major investment.

In examining the questions of the work of the agro-industrial complex in resolving the Food Program the standing commissions noted that the necessary abrupt change in the development of the raw material storage and processing base has not happened.

Opening the conference at the CPSU Central Committee the day before yesterday, Comrade M.S. Gorbachev stressed that things will go no further and will not produce the proper effect if we do not really tackle the questions of the storage, transportation, and processing of rural produce straightaway.

The USSR State Agro-Industrial Committee [Gosagroprom] together with machine-building ministries and local soviet organs must devote paramount attention to the accelerated buildup and bringing up to modern standards of production potential in the sphere of the processing and storage of food raw materials. The process of integrating agriculture and the processing industry must be accelerated.

The great work being done to overcome drunkenness and alcoholism is well known. As a result the atmosphere at work and in everyday life has improved. But the campaign against this evil must be firmly and steadily built up. Otherwise there may be some backtracking, one manifestation of which is the current notable growth in moonshining.

Comrades! People judge the progress of restructuring in the work of sectors producing consumer goods by the presence on store shelves of the high-quality goods the population needs. It is less than a year since light industry switched to complete economic accountability and self-financing, and it is understandable that in this short period it has not been possible to resolve all the problems which had built up over decades. But it is quite impermissible that supplies of certain goods have deteriorated. This produces very serious complaints from the population. We have large unsatisfied demand, yet this year production growth rates have fallen. Contractual commitments are not being fulfilled. Ranges are still being updated only slowly, particularly fashionable products are manufactured in tiny quantities, and there has been no improvement in the quality of goods.

This is largely a consequence of shortcomings in the work of the USSR Ministry of Light Industry. However, it would be wrong not to mention that it needs major help and attention in order to fundamentally improve the work of light industry. First and foremost it is a question of the quantity and quality of the equipment and raw materials that are delivered. The deputies discovered no progress in solving these questions.

The USSR Ministry of Machine Building for Light and Food Industry and Household Appliances—the main producer of equipment for the light industry—is failing to cope with its commitments. The expected contribution has not been made by the defense ministries [as published], on which considerable hopes were pinned for the retooling of the sector. As a result many instructions have not been fulfilled. It is time to examine these questions comprehensively and to call strictly to account all leaders involved in resolving this most important social and political task.

A large group of consumer goods is produced by the machine-building ministries in line with their specializations. But there have been major complaints even against them. There has been no acceleration in updating the range of cultural, consumer, and domestic goods, the technical features and esthetic qualities of products have not been notably improved, and the standard of the best world examples and quality production of items have not been achieved. Economic leaders still do not want to produce many goods.

Union and autonomous republic councils of ministers and local ispolkoms are still making very poor use of the extensive rights granted to them in organizing and

increasing goods production at all enterprises located on their territories. In this regard even simple domestic goods are often unjustifiably shipped in from remote regions.

In improving working people's prosperity a great role is played by the work to expand paid services to the population, the volume of which is to rise by almost 12% next year.

The commissions note that the existing reserves and potential in this area are still being poorly utilized. The targets for the first 8 months of this year have not been fulfilled by two-thirds of union republics and almost all union ministries and departments. Services relating to chalet and parking lot construction, housing repairs, and individual motor transport have not been properly developed.

There are still serious shortcomings in the work of the specialized consumer services sector, particularly in the countryside. There is a shortage of workshops, laundries, and dry-cleaning facilities. Given the way things stand in this sector, the population does not feel that it has switched to the new economic management conditions. Service standards remain low and progressive forms and types of service are being introduced unsatisfactorily.

Local soviets are not being resolute in exploiting the possibilities for developing cooperative and individual forms of labor activity in order to more fully satisfy the population's demand for various consumer goods and services.

The commissions believe that the USSR Council of Ministers Bureau for Social Development must systematically analyze and monitor the implementation of the Comprehensive Program To Develop Consumer Goods Production and the Services Sphere, resolve accumulated problems more rapidly, and step up demands on economic and management organs.

It was stressed at the sessions of the standing commissions that under the conditions of the expanding rights of union and autonomous republic councils of ministers and local ispolkoms, the potential for these organizations to achieve complete balance between the population's monetary income and expenditure primarily on the basis of ensuring territories' self-sufficiency in foodstuffs, industrial goods, and services has considerably increased. However, soviets of people's deputies are still being timid in unifiying and coordinating the efforts of enterprises under different jurisdictions in order to ensure the comprehensive economic and social development of regions. Soviet workers still habitually appear before economic managers as supplicants.

The expansion of enterprises' independence increases rather than diminishes the potential of soviets and their organs to come up with solutions to production and social tasks in rayons, cities, oblasts, and republics. Life persistently demands that the soviets considerably improve the standard of work to implement the decisions adopted by the party and state on enhancing their role and stepping up their responsibility for accelerating socioeconomic development. The experience of soviets in the Belorussian and Estonian SSR's shows how their potential and real contribution to this great and difficult matter has grown.

In the section of the State Plan dealing with foreign economic relations priority importance is given to the development of cooperation with the socialist countries. It is planned to increase the proportion of exports made up of machines, equipment, and reciprocal deliveries of goods under the Comprehensive Program for the CEMA Countries' Scientific and Technical Progress, and to considerably develop direct ties between enterprises.

At the same time the standing commissions note that ministries and departments which have received the right to act independently in the foreign market are not rushing to exercise that right. Our foreign partners in the creation of joint enterprises complain about our sluggishness in resolving organizational questions. There are also demands for the training of the cadres who are to conduct this work locally to be stepped up.

The mentality of certain of our economic managers is changing only slowly and they still have not wholly grasped the need for the careful and efficient use of the equipment acquired on the foreign market. Stocks of such equipment continue to mount at enterprises of the USSR Gosagroprom, the USSR Ministry of the Coal Industry, and certain other ministries and departments.

The State Foreign Economic Commission and other USSR Council of Ministers standing organs, USSR ministries and departments, and union republic councils of ministers must work much more actively to restructure economic ties with foreign countries, reduce all obstacles and impediments in the way, create the conditions for our goods' success on the foreign market, and pay their own way in terms of foreign exchange.

Along with the plan and budget the standing commissions also examined questions of voters' mandates to USSR Supreme Soviet deputies. It was stressed that not all ministries and departments are carrying out the necessary purposeful work in this direction. It was proposed that this work be resolutely stepped up.

Comrades! The course of democratization requires the galvanization of all levels of Soviet state power and more efficient activity on their part. This was clearly seen during the preliminary examination of the plan and budget materials in the standing commissions. Regular information on the professional and creative atmosphere in the commissions—the main working component of the USSR Supreme Soviet—is provided by central television, the radio, and the press.

The detailed reports delivered by ministers and department leaders allow deputies to gain a better understanding of problems and to work out substantiated proposals to resolve them. But today it should clearly also be stated that deputies only see certain ministers in the hall on the day of the sessions, which, in our view, is quite unacceptable under present-day conditions.

The standing commissions, having examined the draft State Plan for the Economic and Social Development of the USSR in 1988, sought an opportunity to increase the volume of production and sales of a number of consumer goods to the tune of R159.4 million in retail prices. In this regard, and having clarified the calculations for certain sources of revenue, the commissions propose increasing USSR State Budget revenue by R153.6 million.

Attaching great importance to the strengthening of the sociocultural sphere's material and technical base, the commissions consider it expedient to channel the extra revenue into increasing USSR State Budget expenditure on capital repairs to health and rural cultural enlightenment institution buildings, on the acquisition of equipment by and capital repairs to general education school buildings in rural areas and homes for the elderly and invalids, and on improving amenities in cities, workers' settlements, and rural rayon centers.

Taking these amendments into account, the standing commissions propose that the State Plan for the Economic and Social Development of the USSR in 1988 and the USSR State Budget for 1988 be ratified. The commissions also propose that the report on the implementation of the budget for 1986 be ratified in the sums presented by the government.

Comrade Deputies! The plan and budget targets for 1988 are very intensive. The country's successful development in subsequent years and the implementation of the tasks of the 12th 5-Year Plan as a whole will depend to a considerable extent on their fulfillment. The growing social activeness of working people, the nationwide support for and implementation of the party's line of democratizing Soviet society, and the acceleration of the country's socioeconomic development are the guarantee that the set targets will be achieved. (Applause).

## Refuznik To Leave USSR for West 25 Oct

*AU241935 Paris AFP in English 1833 GMT 24 Oct 87*

[Text] Moscow, Oct 24 (AFP)—Vladimir Slepak, the Soviet Union's longest-standing refuznik is finally to leave the country for Vienna on Sunday and travel on to Israel the next day, he said here Saturday.

Mr Slepak, 59, and his wife, who both received their exit visas ten days ago after a 17 year-wait, are to join Nobel peace prize winner Elie Wiesel in the Austrian capital. The three of them will then leave for Israel on Monday.

He announced his plans during a private breakfast at the French Embassy, attended by Michel Noir, French junior foreign trade minister and a group of dissidents and refuzniks.

The refuzniks and dissidents at the meal stressed the precarious nature of Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev's planned reforms and said they feared a backlash if the reforms failed.

They underlined the continuing need for Western countries to pressurise the Soviet Union to fulfil its international obligations — particularly on human rights.

Dissident Andrey Sakharov said that 200 prisoners of conscience had been freed since the beginning of the year but 400 were still detained and he called on the Soviet authorities to rehabilitate the freed political prisoners as they had done in the 1950's.

Aleksandr Lerner, 73, who has been trying to emigrate to Israel since 1971 said the most pressing problem was to get Soviet law in step with international conventions.

Sergey Grigoriyants, who was freed earlier this year and now edits the dissident paper *Glasnost* said the authorities "were trying to frighten" some dissidents by printing veiled threats in official media organs like TASS.

## Sociologist Analyzes Electoral Experiment

*PM231605 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 11 Oct 87 Second Edition p 2*

[Interview with sociologist Ye. Andryushchenko by A. Dyatlov under the rubric "Soviets, People's Control": "Prestige of the Power Mandate. Sociologist Ye. Andryushchenko On Experiment in Elections to the Soviets"; date and place of interview unspecified]

[Text] [Dyatlov] This year almost 2,000 soviets conducted an experiment—electing deputies according to a multiple seat system. I was present at one of the polling places at the time and, judging by people's reaction, everyone is in favor of the new system...

[Andryushchenko] Let us not draw hasty conclusions. You see, direct impressions in life often oversimplify a phenomenon. Therefore it is better to turn to impassive statistics. On the instructions from the USSR Supreme Soviet, our Sociological Research Institute and the USSR Academy of Sciences Institute of State and Law studied the entire course of the electoral campaign. It must be noted that this was the first time that such research had been conducted. Hitherto the election process and its results were beyond the scope, as it were, of assessment by public opinion. Thus, out of 3,400 voters polled in 12 of the country's regions, 58 %percent supported the new procedure even before the elections. Out of 1,940 candidates for deputy 66 % approved the new system. We also asked those who organized the campaign—party and soviet workers and labor collective

leaders. The votes broke down as follows: 57% were "for," 32% said that they would accept the new system but with substantial reservations, and 3 % were "against."

[Dyatlov] Did all the experiment's supporters express their attitude to it with full knowledge of the facts?

[Andryushchenko] People adduced reasons for their answers. Above all the fact that they sensed potential for wider exercise of the right of choice. Here is a typical detail: As I have already said, 58 % of voters even prior to the election rated their attitude to the experiment as positive, and during a repeat survey after the election the number of supporters increased to 77 %. The increase represented the votes of those who had seen for themselves: The "multiple seat system" is not a formality and, yes, I really can influence the election result.

[Dyatlov]Nonetheless, Yevgeniy Grigorevich, let us give an angry voice a hearing. V. Samokhin from Rostov writes: "Judging by articles in *Sovetskaya Rossiya* (in particular the piece headlined 'Misfire'), everything went according to the established pattern even in multiple seat okrugs. What is the point of such an 'experiment'?"

[Andryushchenko] At first many people thought that it was sufficient merely to repudiate bans, announce glasnost, and give people the opportunity to express their opinion freely, then everything would happen automatically. Things happened, but not everywhere as we would have liked. I found a wonderful picture in Gavrilov-Yamskiy Rayon in Yaroslavl Oblast: Candidates were boldly nominated at meetings, people were arguing heatedly... I even thought: This is how elections should be! But we conducted a survey—and what did we find? They had discussed, just as before, just one person, not two or three. And that person had been recommended in any case. It was the same story in another five rayons which we visited. The election organizers presented the "parameters" in the same old way: sex, age, social origin... And the collectives "nominated candidates," selecting them according to this format. True, the newspapers and party organs immediately intervened, and the situation began to right itself.

So the reader is correct, inertia, force of habit, and stereotyped ways of thinking make themselves felt. The only point on which I disagree with Comrade Samokhin is his remark that the experiment will be of no use in this case. It will! Such facts illuminate the "seamy sides" of multiple seat elections. Life itself provides lessons, we must master its science.

And yet there are many good changes. In most okrugs people kept their own counsel and made their choice without exhortations and compulsion.

I once attended a meeting in Moscow Oblast's Lukhovitskiy Rayon. Workers from a sovkhoz were discussing several candidates. Among the candidates, people of note (one of them was even a rayon soviet worker), was a garage mechanic whose curriculum vitae [anketa] was not very "flashy." And—amazingly!—the mechanic won! It was a real battle. However, the workers knew that they were defending primarily a principled, honest, steadfast activist ready to lay down his life for the interests of the collective.

[Dyatlov] Yevgeniy Grigorevich, restructuring is under way, and it is understandable that struggle and passionate conflicts surround each new step. But where does this ineradicable desire to follow the old path and act according to a prescribed plan come from?

[Andryushchenko] We asked the election organizers similar questions. They explained it simply: "So as to roughly determine who will enter the soviet. There must be a certain percentage of workers and kolkhoz workers, Communists and non-party people, young people and elderly people."

[Dyatlov] But the soviet must actually reflect the social structure of society...

[Andryushchenko] Elections are not a game. They are the mechanism of democracy and not merely a demonstration of it. They are held not merely for form's sake and the elected soviet must represent not merely social groups but also their interests. These are not always one and the same thing. Proportional representation is often used today to select "suitable" deputies. But the deciding factor is not whether a man represents the labor collective's true interests but how good his curriculum vitae is.

Is it possible to combine the "net of representation" and the principles of free nomination? There is no unanimity to be found on this question either among the electorate or among deputies.

[Dyatlov] What is your personal opinion?

[Andryushchenko] I favor choice in nominating [alternativnoye vydvizheniye] candidates. I think that it will make it possible to take into consideration the interests of all the social groups in the sector and the okrug. And people must make their own choice solely on the basis of the candidate's professional and political qualities. What can voters find out today about candidates from their data sheets?—professional qualities, grade, length of service... But this in no way reflects the candidate's potential for acting energetically in the soviet. A deputy does not need to plow a field or machine components there, he has to resolve questions in the interests of the state and people. This means that a deputy's professional qualities are to be assessed differently. How? We asked this question. Among the election campaign organizers the majority—80 %—think that their representatives in the soviet must be fighters for public interests, bold,

enterprising people with solid experience of life and great authority in the collective. You can see that the requirements are difficult to specify on a curriculum vitae.

It seems to me that the approach based on choice can change the "curriculum vitae competition" into a competition between people. It is for labor collectives to have their say here. They are best placed to know everything, down to the smallest detail, about the man to whom they entrust the mandate.

[Dyatlov] But not only his own people but also workers from other enterprises will be voting for him. Will they be able to find out much about the candidate in the short preelection period?

[Andryushchenko] It is necessary to change the functions of campaign work. At the present the main concern for agitation teams is to be a little quicker in reporting 100-% turnout on election day. But their task is to turn the campaign from the very beginning into a competition between candidates.

Let the candidates argue about the problems which they should resolve in the soviet and the ways in which they intend to do this. Let them present their program on radio and television and in local newspapers... We looked at newspapers from 12 rayons—a future deputy did not speak out on his own behalf in any of them. [Dyatlov] In the editorial mailbag you encounter among other letters objections to the multiple seat system. Their authors, who are, as a rule, ispolkom workers, think that the new election procedure is responsible for their election defeat.

[Andryushchenko] I have myself heard similar opinions. Let us see why all the same multiple seat elections evoked alarm, confusion, and even fear among certain leading workers. Because such things are unusual. It is unusual for people to resolve a cadre question for themselves and express their opinion frankly and directly. Moreover, what does a kolkhoz worker or enterprise director lose if he is not elected a deputy? Only the right to vote at the session. But for workers in a soviet organ even being transferred to the reserve means losing their job, their special job. Therefore certain leaders endeavored to maintain their positions as deputies at any price. The voting was especially heated where city and rayon soviet leaders were running. And many of them lost the competition with other candidates although more than one-half of the voters voted for them (remember that under the new system only the candidate who receives the largest number of votes gets in).

Some soviet workers have even demanded the creation of a defense mechanism—special criteria for counting votes for leading workers. An experiment is an experiment. While the trail was warm we asked people their attitude to this proposal. One-third of the organizers of the election campaign supported the idea of creating a defense mechanism. But I identify with the majority viewpoint: Election conditions must be equal for everyone.

[Dyatlov] What other proposals have been put forward in the course of the research?

[Andryushchenko] For example, most voters think that candidate deputies should be nominated not only according to their place of work but also according to where they live. For residential rayons have public councils and party organizations, so why not give them this right? It was also proposed to retain single seat okrugs, according to the locality, on an equal footing with multiple seat okrugs. And, of course, the opinion was very often voiced that the right to recall a deputy who has not justified the trust placed in him must really exist, as yet it is used extrememly rarely. It is on the whole necessary to note that public thought aims everywhere to ensure that Soviet power is indeed power.

[Dyatlov] Your research has revealed many problems encountered by the multiple seat system. What are your conclusions?

[Andryushchenko] At the present we can only speak about the preliminary results. The experiment has given state and public organizations and scientists a great deal of information. But nonetheless it only suggested options and ways for improving the electoral system and the detours and possible difficulties of this work. In the wake of the 162 rayons it will be easier for others to follow this path. However, each one of us has to choose the way. Nationwide discussion of the new draft Statute on Soviet Elections lies ahead.

## Author Interviewed on Book About Stalin

*LD241548 Moscow Television Service in Russian 2050 GMT 23 Oct 87*

[From the "Information And Music" youth program: Correspondent Yelena Kovaleva studio interview with professor, doctor of philosophical sicences, Colonel-General Dmitriy Antonovich Volkogonov, deputy chief of the Main Political Directorate of the Soviet Army and Navy; date not specified; screen shows Volkogonov talking to Kovaleva—recorded]

[Text] [Kovaleva] Dmitriy Antonovich, I know that you are currently writing a very interesting book and that you have been doing this for quite some time.

[Volkogonov] I am not very eager about talking about this, which is not surprising because it speaks about a man who is often mentioned by many writers, philosophers and scientists. Many years ago—I think as long as 10 years ago—I started working on a book which had a temporary title, and it is still the same: "Triumph and

Tragedy." It is a philosophical and biographical study of I.V. Stalin. It is not an historical study. Historians are free to criticize me; they could probably write in more detail.

At a certain stage I, perhaps, was unable to obtain materials, to get access to certain archives, and I stopped. But lately—not even lately but for quite a considerable period—I have been working on this book. It may seem strange: Why is a military man a philosopher? You see, I closely follow everything that is being written about this man, and often people write from the standpoint of historical truth or historical interpretation. I think that it is no less important in this case to analyze the philosophical aspect of this man's fate. Here are just two comparisons. For example, read a passage from the greetings that were read when Stalin celebrated his 70th birthday, and then take a passage from the 20th Party Congress, from what Khrushchev said at the congress. In general, the people who wrote those two documents were almost the same. In one document he was praised as one of the greatest geniuses, his solemn prayers were too far off for us to hear them; one could understand that he was God himself who descended on earth. The other document depicts him as a criminal, I think it was not just a denunciation; I would say it was a revelation.

It seems that in criticizing him or simply speaking about him disparagingly we are involuntarily belittling our history, and I cannot agree to that. If we look at our history of that time we will find Pasha Angelina, Papanin, Stakhanov, flights over the Pole, the construction of huge enterprises and the victory over fascism, so many remarkable moments, such enthusiasm of people. And often, in an offhand manner, referring to this man as a criminal—I stress here that I am not trying to justify him at all, he deserved such evaluation to a considerable degree, to a great degree—we are involuntary casting suspicion on people.

The task of the book is, first, to reveal the causes, profound causes; they are very complex. I simply have no time here. Here is maybe just one cause, one of the causes; there are many of them. Trotskiy and Stalin were antipodes, they hated each other, they fought, and Stalin won the fight because, in fact, Trotskiy loved himself in the revolution; he was a phrasemonger, an extremely bright speaker, and so forth. He was one of the first to suggest the introduction of methods of violence into the life of the state and the Party; he advocated methods of violence. Characteristically, Stalin, after having eventually won and having exiled Trotskiy abroad, adopted those methods. This is a form of dialectics. Forgetting Lenin's behests and instructions, which said that without broad democracy and people's power great failures are imminent and unavoidable —or if not forgetting, then noncompliance with them, was one othe most profound causes. I think that shortage of people's power, which was felt increasingly strongly after Lenin's death, for which Stalin is to blame to a great degree, is another of the most profound causes.

I think I will complete the manuscript of the book next year. Of course, before it is published it will be reviewed and examined, but I hope that I will cope with the task in the philosopical aspect. Otherwise, I think it is abnormal that there should be hundreds of books in foreign countries, whereas we were not allowed to say anything about the man who was the leader of our people, party and state for more than 30 years, regardless of what we think about him. I am trying to avoid evaluations; I am simply saying that this is a fate which will be interesting to people maybe even in the 21st century. He was a complex person, both intelligent and cruel, committed to ideas and suspicious, vainglorious to the highest degree and, at the same time, a man who seemed to have sought no profits for himself. In this respect it is impossible to paint his portrait in black and white. But I would point out—and this has been said more than once—that for the things he was privy to, along with those around him, he can have no pardon; for those numerous sacrifices, aboslutely unjustified and senseless, he cannot be pardoned by history. However, I think we will be able to answer all these questions and to understand them better when we read materials, the report at the solemn sitting [as heard] dedicated to our most sacred holiday, that of the Great October Socialist Revolution, the 70th anniversary of which is very near.

## Kravtsov's Speech on Problems of Alcohol

*LD212146 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1840 GMT 21 Oct 87*

[Speech by Justice Minister Boris Vasilyevich Kravtsov; date, place not given—live or recorded]

[Text] Hello, respected television viewers. I would like to continue discussion of a problem that is worrying all of us, and not without reason: It is the problem connected with overcoming drunkenness, alcoholism, home distilling [samogonovareniye], in the life of our society.

As you know, these matters are being discussed widely in the press, and on the radio and television. That is no accident. And the way in which they are being discussed—frankly and openly—corresponds to the spirit of our times. Shortcomings and mistakes are being uncovered in the eradication of this evil. I think there is no need to say much about the positive changes that have taken place in the struggle against drunkenness over the past 2 and 1/2 years. However, without flattering ourselves, we can say that there are real, positive advances. Labor discipline has strengthened and the consumption of spirits at production facilities has diminished sharply. The number of injuries related to drunkenness has declined. Well, it is possible to say that all sorts of stoppages that took place with or without reason have become things of the past. There has been greater orderliness on the streets and in other public places. To a certain extent, we link the reduction in crime and convictions with—or to some extent we also link it with—the intensification of the struggle against drunkenness. I will cite several figures. In the first 6 months of

this year, convictions declined by 18.2 % compared with the same period last year, and by 26 % for serious crimes. That decline is characteristic of all union republics. The number of people convicted of committing crimes in a state of intoxication has declined from 46 % to 33.7 %.

In my speech, I would like to touch on the use of legal resources in the struggle against drunkenness, alcoholism, and home distilling. Now everybody already understands that overcoming drunkenness is complex. To achieve our goals, economic, medical, pedagogical, cultural, and educational measures are needed, as well as, naturally, legal measures. The problem cannot be solved by bans, restrictions, and administrative measures alone. Life confirms that convincingly.

So what place in the struggle against drunkenness and alcoholism should be occupied by the use of measures provided by the law? One frequently can hear that our laws are too soft, too humane, and that therefore all mishaps result from their imperfection. Therefore, in the opinion of those who hold such a point of view, the law should simply be changed, and everything will fall into place, as they say. Of course, that is not the case. Those comrades are mistaken; it is an incorrect judgment. However, I must say that we are far from thinking that the laws should remain unchanged, regardless of the changes taking place in our society and in life. Of course not. The laws must be improved, and this is being done. Since the adoption in May 1985 of the laws, well-known to you, on the struggle against drunkenness, alcoholism, and home distilling, a considerable number of changes and additions have been made to them. For example, whereas previously home distilling for one's own private consumption was deemed to be a crime and was punished as a criminal offence, the punishment was only a very small fine. Now, in accordance with the decree of 29 May of this year, these actions are also deemed to be illegal, but are regarded as an administrative misdemeanour that generally does not entail a criminal record. However, the punishment for such actions has been made considerably more severe. The fine has been increased to R300. As you can see, this is a considerable measure. The reason for it is the widespread increase in home distilling which has occurred recently.

I would like to stress once again that according to the new law, any person who has engaged in home distilling, not for sale but, say, for himself and even in insignificant amounts, will be fined R100-R300. No references, which one often hears in such cases, about difficulties with repairs—say, that he has to give the workmen a bottle to pay for repairs, or some people refer to the long queues in the shop—these, of course, must not be taken into account.

We have been talking about home distilling with no intention of selling it. As far as the making of home-distilled spirits or home distilling equipment with the aim of selling them is concerned, even more severe criminal accountability has been introduced. This was brought about in 1985. I am referring to the decree adopted at that time. Those guilty of commiting such crimes can be sentenced to deprivation of freedom for a period of 1-3 years, or to corrective labor of up to 2 years. In addition to these measures, the court can confiscate property. In this case, this refers to the confiscation not only of the home-distilled spirits or the equipment used to make the home-distilled spirits, it refers to the confiscation of other property belonging to the culprit. Let me cite an example from an actual case. Citizen Volkov, an inhabitant of the city of Moscow, engaged in home distilling in his apartment and then sold the product. Home distilling equipment and ten liters of home-distilled spirits were found in Volkov's apartment. The culprit was sentenced for these actions to 2 years of corrective labor, with the confiscation of an automobile and a number of other valuable articles belonging to him. As you see, the sentence was rather severe. I must say that judicial practice shows that such measures—when someone guilty of home distilling is punished in addition to the basic sentence by this additional measure of confiscation of property—have great preventive significance, both for the person receiving the sentence and for other unstable people who might feel inclined to committing such actions.

I must say that the nonuse of confiscation of property in a number of cases is connected with the shortcomings in the work of the investigating bodies, which do not always carry out the necessary measures to find and remove property belonging to persons involved in making home-distilled spirits with the aim of selling them. It must be said that the judges, too, on their own initiative also quite often do not take the necessary measures. It is perfectly clear that such leniency to inveterate home distillers is impermissible. The application of this measure, along with other measures of exerting influence with regard to persons engaging in drunkenness and home distilling, undoubtedly will facilitate the effective struggle against these negative phenomena.

## Continued Alcoholism Problem Noted

*LD221325 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 0700 GMT 22 Oct 87*

[Text] The problem of combatting alcoholism unfortunately remains acute and topical. What has been done in Moscow since the adoption of the well-known decree of the RSFSR Supreme Soviet Presidium on stepping up measures against drunkenness and alcoholism and eradicating home-distilling? A briefing at the Main Directorate of Internal Affairs of the Moscow Gorispolkom was devoted to this. Our correspondent, Anatoliy Fedorov, interviewed Major General Nikolay Stepanovich Merikov, deputy chief of the central board.

[Begin recording] [Merikov] One cannot say that everything has been done and we have finished our work here—it is impossible to draw such a conclusion.

[Fedorov] Figures were cited that a significant number are still being picked up in the streets.

[Merikov] Over the past 9 months 243,000 such individuals have been picked up in a drunken state. About 30% of crimes are committed by persons under the influence of alcohol as well. The number of road accidents committed by drunk drivers has increased by 12.8%. The number of people deprived of a driving licence for being under the influence of alcohol has not decreased either. The number of offences committed by teenagers has not come down. And all this of course demands additional, very effective, joint measures from us on a broad front to wage a more aggressive struggle in fulfilling the party and government decision.

[Fedorov] It is no accident that we have here in the hall of the collegium, examples of the population's home brewing creativity, shall we call them, home-distilling apparatuses. The problem of home-brewing is the most acute to date.

[Merikov] I have to say that it is getting more acute every day. Over 9 months we have exposed 1,800 cases of home-distilling. What is more the home brewers have started making their home-distilling equipment more sophisticated and the process of producing home brew as well. Incidents of the selling of home brew have become more widespread. We are talking about a criminal offence in this case. Together with public organizations we are stepping up the fight against home-distilling but as yet we cannot say that we have done everything and that the home brewers have faded away.

[Fedorov] I can remember a well-known comedy film "The Home Brewers" where the dog Barbos helped to rid the criminal gangs of hooch, do you remember? It was stated today as well that dogs will be used in the very near future to expose the places where home-distilling is carried out, militia dogs.

[Merikov] That is correct. We are working on this at present. It will enhance the efficiency of the militia in exposing home brewers.

[Fedorov] You delivered a report at the collegium session devoted to the problem of work in fulfilling this decree. What was the most acute problem that came out in your report?

[Merikov] Bringing to book certain managers for omissions connected with relaxing the fight against profiteering in spirits. And the role of the administration at enterprises and workforces in the offences that are committed by their workers and staff has to be enhanced. We have statistics for 9 months which testify to the fact that in a number of enterprises the number of persons violating the anti-alcohol legislation and going to medical drying-out centers is increasing. That should worry everyone. [end recording]

## Local Militia Officials Dismissed for Abuses

*PM231301 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 12 Oct 87 Second Edition p 4*

[Unattributed report under the rubric "After the Check": "Dismissed From Militia"]

[Text] A group of war and labor veterans from Angarsk in Irkutsk Oblast wrote to *Pravda* about official abuses and embezzlement of money and construction materials in the timber industry by Yu. Sidorenko and S. Podobeda, workers of the Angarsk Gorispolkom Internal Affairs Administration.

The letter has been examined by the USSR Ministry of Internal Affairs. As A. Fomchenkov, deputy chief of the Cadre Administration, has reported, the facts contained in the letter have been fully substantiated.

For breaches of the rules Yu. Sidorenko has been expelled from the CPSU. For committing offenses which discredit the rank of leading personnel, Yu. Sidorenko and S. Podobeda have been dismissed from the internal affairs organs by decision of the USSR MVD Cadre Administration.

## Problems With Nazi Arms Dumps in Kaliningrad

*PM231353 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 13 Oct 87 Single Edition p 4*

[Second, final part of article by correspondent Captain 2d Rank S. Turchenko: "Kaliningrad's Underground Vaults: Myths and Reality"]

[Excerpts] "At 1945 hours on 11 April 1986... there was an explosion in the basement of No. 15, Thaelmann Street, which resulted in the deaths of Dmitriy Plashchenkov, born 1971, and Igor Kosachenko, born 1971. Aleksey Volkov, born 1972, and Dmitriy Plotinin, born 1972, received injuries of varying severity. Yuriy Kirillov, born 1981, was contused.

"It turned out that Plashchenkov, Kosachenko, and Volkov had been trying to take apart a fascist heavy-caliber cartridge that they had found. During a search of the territory and the basement premises where it had been found more than 16,000 dangerously explosive objects were discovered..."

"A group of ninth-graders of Kaliningrad's No 48 Secondary School traveled to the region of the old 'Balga' castle, where they hunted for weapons and ammunition remaining there since the wartime... There was an explosion as a result of which schoolboy Dmitriy Afanasyev suffered serious injury..." (From reports to Kaliningrad Oblispolkom Internal Affairs Administration)

I have had occasion to read many such reports, which have wrung my heart with pain. More than 42 years have passed since the end of the Great Patriotic War, but Kaliningrad underground vaults still harbor death and

grief, which from time to time shoot to the surface and take lives and cripple people—children and teenagers, as a rule. Militia Lieutenant Colonel Nikolay Ivanovich Saprykin, chief of the Kaliningrad Oblispolkom Internal Affairs Administration Department for the Safeguarding of Public Order, said:

"Several teenagers and children die here every year because of this. In 1986 68 people were arrested for collecting and storing weapons, powder, and other dangerously explosive substances which they had found. They include quite young children—for example, the fourth-graders Andrey Shishka and Anatoliy Sokolov. They are silly little boys who do not realize what such games can lead to. There are also many guys who are quite old enough to be aware of and responsible for their actions but who, captivated by this unhealthy 'hobby' from childhood, do not give it a moment's thought. During the past 3 years alone 180 criminal cases connected with the collection and storage of weapons have been instituted. We carry out preventive work in schools and at places of residence, but the problem is not becoming any less acute. I believe that it is necessary to resolve it cardinally, that is, to eliminate the infection itself—clear both the underground vaults and the Kaliningrad land of 'surprises' from the last war." [passage omitted]

Reinforced militia details are now on duty at Balga at weekends and on holidays, as well as at 11 other officially registered places in Kaliningrad and the oblast where fascist weapons and explosives are amassed. But neither preventive work nor these militia details can fully protect teenagers from the danger that the war has left behind. And this danger encroaches on not only the physical but also the moral health of teenagers. The fact that the "childish passion" for excavating weapons frequently leads to crimes connected with their storage is just one aspect of the matter. I wish to dwell on another, still more unpleasant aspect.

You have only to go out into Kaliningrad's streets in the evening, and you will occasionally encounter youths with their hair cut and dyed "like the blond beast," frequently with accessories of fascist symbolism on their sleeveless leather jackets, and sometimes even with swastika armbands. These accessories have been dragged out of underground vaults, like rot and mold, by infantile youths who have learned neither to think nor to feel. There are even people who come together in informal groups with names which, at first sight, supposedly lay claim to some political hue. I met with a representative of one such group which has caused a particular sensation in Kaliningrad.

Artem is 19. He is going off to the Army in a few weeks' time. You get the feeling that he is greatly looking forward to this, seeing service as the very best opportunity to break with the past forever. And his past is like this.

Approximately 3 years ago Artem made the acquaintance of people of his own age who called themselves an informal group, whose name, upon my honor, I do not even wish to pronounce. It was heterogeneous in social makeup but, characteristically, the overwhelming majority of its members were children of quite well-off parents who were prepared to do anything for their offspring. After the overgrown "young oafs" hit upon the idea of hanging out a flag with a swastika on one of the city buildings, the CPSU Obkom, Gorkom, and Raykom did a great deal of work with them and their parents. The group broke up, and the young people were sent to worker collectives for labor education. Artem now works as a milling machine operator. He maintains that he is profoundly conscious of the sheer stupidity and worthlessness of his past behavior. But it has, nonetheless, left a tremendous gap in his soul and a moral vacuum which has to be filled. Here is a brief excerpt from my conversation with him:

"What prompted the setting up of your group?"

"Childish stupidity and not knowing how to fill our free time."

"What did the group do?"

"It sought and invented amusements."

"But why did you hang out the flag?"

"To attract public attention."

"But that is an insult to everything Soviet people hold sacred."

"We did not think about that."

"What have you read and what movies have you seen about the Great Patriotic War?"

"I don't remember." [passage omitted]

The Komsomol Gorkom is doing a great amount of military patriotic work. But youths with fascist symbols on their clothing do not respond to it at all and continue to roam the streets of Kaliningrad. And they include many whose grandfathers shed their blood during the storming of Koenigsberg.

While not claiming to make an in-depth and comprehensive analysis, I must express my opinion. I think the trouble is that the Komsomol Gorkom knows how to work actively and purposefully in successful youth collectives but has not yet found means of influencing the anomalous milieu, so to speak. The lack of glasnost in this matter is also a great hindrance. The city public has not been informed about it or, if it has been, it is at the level of rumors and, as a rule, distorted rumors—which is still more harmful. The local press is virtually silent. And those who possess the necessary information keep it

under lock and key. While I was preparing this article, for example, I came up against a wall of "silence" in almost all offices. I even heard the following opinion from a political worker at the Internal Affairs Administration: All glasnost does is once again morally traumatize "problem" youths and their parents. Only after CPSU Obkom Secretary Kim Fedorovich Shchekin intervened was I given the necessary assistance. And yet not one serious problem can be resolved in our time without glasnost, without the participation of "everyone." I am also sure that many difficult questions will be removed if the material soil from which they spring is eliminated. It is necessary once and for all to clear the city and its environs of everything dangerous left over from the war.

I was told at Kaliningrad CPSU Obkom that this idea is not new and has long been on the plane of practical realization. As long ago as 15 May 1986 Kaliningrad CPSU Obkom Bureau adopted a resolution "On Measures To Intensify Work on Finally Clearing the Oblast's Territory of Wartime Shells and Mines." A detailed plan was drawn up. It seemed that things would get moving. But here is a sad statistic. Five instances of people being blown up by dangerous explosive wartime objects were recorded in Kaliningrad Oblast in 1986, and there had already been seven instances just during the first 4 months of 1987. Many rayons have not even begun clearing their territory. Kaliningrad people know what tremendous work is being done by the military sappers who risk death to eliminate the dangerous explosive objects that are brought to light. I could cite hundreds of examples of courage and heroism displayed by them in this work. However, there really still is a weak spot in the systematic surveying of territory. Why? I talked about this with Colonel Aleksandr Timofeyevich Bondarenko.

"Military subunits have carried out surface clearing of the territories assigned to them, but this does not and cannot satisfy the local party and soviet organs. For the bulk of the weapons and dangerous explosive objects are in the ground and in undetected underground vaults. Purely technically we have no possibility of carrying out in-depth clearing of the territory. What is needed for this? I believe the oblispolkom should display great persistence in drawing the attention of higher organs to this problem in order to get adequate resources and the necessary means allocated to resolving it. The volume and nature of the work are such that they require the combined effort of many organizations."

There is probably reason in what Col Bondarenko says. But something else is also obvious: We must not sit with arms folded and wait for the next explosion. It is time to really coordinate the actions of party and soviet organs and of the military units stationed in and next to the oblast. [passage omitted]

## Subsidies to Union Republics Reported

*LD241550 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 0658 GMT 24 Oct*

[By TASS Observer Boris Prokhorov]

[Text] Moscow, 24 Oct (TASS)—The USSR state budget for 1988, which was passed this week by the USSR Supreme Soviet, makes provision for additional major subsidies to certain national republics from the all-union budget. For example, the following sums are to be handed over to certain republics over and above their own budgets by the USSR Ministry of Finance for the implementation of major economic programs: the Turkmen SSR—R.344 million; the Tajik SSR—R.419 million; the Kirgiz SSR—R.556 million; the Uzbek SSR—R.1,883 million; the Kazakh SSR—MORE than R.2,500 million. If we look at the listings of the country's budget for previous years we see exactly the same. In other words, there is a redistribution of incomes within the USSR to the benefit of once backward republics which are now catching up and continuing to develop at a rapid rate.

This fact is one of many illustrations of how Lenin's nationalities policy of the equality and equal rights of all peoples is being implemented in practice in the USSR.

Soviet power, which was established in the country as a result of victory for the Great October Revolution of 1917, inherited scandalous national inequality and scandalous backwardness of national districts.

Over the 70 years of Soviet power this most grave inheritance of the past has been eliminated. The equality of all peoples and republics has indeed become the rule for life in the country. And this is the outcome. Kazakhstan today builds modern jet airliners, Kirgizia produces computer technology and the Tajik Republic automated machine-tools. Each of the union republics has its own national Academy of Sciences, publishing house and film studio. People's standards of education have become virtually identical, although in Central Asia, for example, where almost 90 percent of the employed population today has higher and secondary education, 70 years ago no more than 3 to 5 persons in 100 were able to read and write. The Kirgiz people, which before the revolution did not have its own written language (it was developed there with the assistance of Russian linguists), has given world culture such a major writer as Chingiz Aytmatov. His books have now been translated into 90 world languages.

On the eve of the 70th anniversary of Great October the Soviet Union can speak with legitimate pride of major successes in implementing the nationalities policy of the CPSU. But we also understand that far from all aspects of the nationalities problem are resolved: there are still difficulties relating to particular features of historical development, to cadre matters, to certain national traditions, to teaching and to the use of languages and other things.

The USSR is dealing with these, perhaps not all at once and not as quickly as one would like, but earnestly and thoroughly. The necessary measures are being undertaken in planned fashion, under the conditions of glasnost, at various levels: both at all-union and republican level. Take, for example, the decision made recently at public request by the Kirgiz Supreme Soviet on the study of the two languages—Kirgiz and Russian—in all schools of the republic. Formerly parents here chose which school to send a child to, a Kirgiz school or a Russian school, but it is now considered that it is vital to know both languages.

### Raisa Gorbacheva Tours Leningrad Art Gallery

*PM251529 Moscow SOVETSKAYA KULTURA in Russian 15 Oct 87 p 3*

[Own correspondent E. Gorchakova report: "At the Russian Museum"]

[Text] Leningrad—On 13 October Raisa Maksimovna Gorbacheva, member of the Soviet Culture Fund Board, visited the Russian Museum.

The Russian Museum is the world's largest collection of Russian fine art. Unlike the Tretyakov Gallery, it is not just paintings and icons that are kept and collected here. There is a vast collection of Russian sculpture, decorative applied art, and folk art. Raisa Maksimovna Gorbacheva was interested, above all, in the Russian Museum's current problems and the extent of their influence.

There really are many problems, and they were described in detail by the museum staffers and its director—Vladimir Alekseyevich Lenyashin, corresponding member of the USSR Academy of Arts. The Mikhaylovskiy Palace building, converted to a museum back in the last century, long ago became too cramped, and the Russian Museum today stores 370,000 items. The chief need is for a modern stock warehouse, for the life of works of art depends on this. And the museum needs to expand. In recent years a decision was adopted to transfer to the Russian Museum the Sheremetyevskiy Palace on the Fontanka and the Stroganovskiy Palace on the corner of Nevskiy and Moyka. A great deal of repair and restoration work has to be carried out there, but in the long term the museum's permanent collection will be considerably enlarged and there will be space for exhibitions.

There was also discussion of traveling exhibitions—the Russian Museum organizes many of them, and not only in our country. Our fine art is little known abroad. All requests for exhibitions today relate just to the avant-garde. But at the beginning of the century, in the twenties and thirties, the avant-garde was just one of the directions, and an exhibition telling of Russian art must give an objective picture, the entire aspect of the time. This will be fair with regard not only to Russian art but also to the foreign viewer who wants to know us and our culture.

Another problem is the way the museum is being added to today. The choice is wide, but the problem of choosing remains, although it has shifted from the category of an organizational to a moral problem for the museum staff. It is necessary to study and know everything that is being created in the vast country, to travel and acquire really outstanding works.

We should not be reassured by current attendance figures. The millions who come to the museum today are tourists, while Leningraders rarely visit their own museums, just as Muscovites rarely visit theirs. But they should do so. Art teaches and educates only when it enters life unobtrusively and constantly. There is a special milieu in museums, and there is no place in them for fakes—in them a person remains alone with originals of the highest merit. That is why the Russian Museum carries out systematic work with Leningrad enterprise collectives and considers constant meetings, excursions, lecture cycles, and season tickets for schoolchildren and vocational and technical school students particularly important.

Raisa Maksimovna Gorbacheva viewed the museum's permanent collection and the exhibition "Art of Masters of the Stroganov School," mounted in several rooms on the first floor.

### Sociologists' Conference on Restructuring

*PM211447 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 13 Oct 87 Second Edition p 3*

[TASS report: "Sociology Conference"]

[Text] Palanga, Lithuanian SSR, 12 Oct—A conference of sociologists from the Soviet Baltic republics which has opened here is devoted to the problems of activating the human factor in the conditions of restructuring. Its purpose is to pool the efforts of scientists from the three republics in joint work in the most important areas of fundamental and applied research and to consolidate their cooperation with party, soviet, and economic organs in the solution of specific problems.

### Monument to P. Dybenko Unveiled

*PM221445 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 9 Oct 87 Second Edition p 2*

[Report by nonstaff correspondent M. Atamanenko: "Monument to Revolutionary Hero"]

[Text] Novozybkov (Bryansk Oblast), 8 Oct—A monument has been unveiled here to military commander P. Dybenko, former people's commissar of the first Soviet Government.

The commissar's hands tightly grip the hilt of a cavalry sword. It looks as if the ringing blade is about to be raised aloft and the daring commander, dressed in fur cap and long greatcoat, step down from the plinth and lead his army into battle. That is how the revolutionary hero has

been depicted by sculptor RSFSR People's Artist Yu. Chernov and architect G. Isakovich. Novozybkov is Pavel Yefimovich's birthplace. The house he lived in has been preserved and a city street bears his name. Here the memory of their distinguished fellow countryman is preserved and young people are raised on his example. Thousands of city dwellers, visitors, people who knew P. Dybenko, and his relatives attended the unveiling ceremony. The square in front of the monument became on that day a large stage on which were reenacted all the important events in which their distinguished fellow countryman had taken part.

## Economic

### Council of Ministers Meet on Economy

*LD232115 Moscow Television Service in Russian1800 GMT23 Oct 87*

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] In the USSR Council of Ministers:

The USSR Council of Ministers sat today to discuss the question of measures to complete the fulfilment of the 1987 state plan for the country's economic and social development, and to ensure the stable operation of the national economy in 1988.

It was noted at the session that the intensive work underway in the country to implement the tasks put forward by the party to accelerate social and economic development, the deepening of the process of the democratization of society, the increasingly broad participation by the working people in the running of the economy, and the heightened political and labor activity by the Soviet people in the struggle to mark the 70th anniversary of the Great October Revolution in a worthy fashion are providing positive results in the fulfilment of the plan targets set for 1987.

The USSR Council of Ministers stressed that in light of the directives of the October 1987 CPSU Central Committee Plenum and the decisions of the 8th Session of the USSR Supreme Soviet of the 11th Convocation, there is a need to step up the labor rhythm and organize efficient and well-coordinated work in all areas of production in order to fulfill unconditionally the tasks for the current year, to create the necessary groundwork for the further dynamic development of the national economy in 1988, and thereby to improve the wellbeing of the Soviet people.

Summing up the results of work in the first 9 months of this year, the USSR Council of Ministers noted that there had been an improvement in the work of the ministries in the fuel and energy complex and the metallurgical complex, both of which had coped with the plan targets for the production of basic types of output. Certain positive results were achieved in the agroindustrial complex. More cattle, poultry, milk, and eggs were procured than last year. The scale of housing, and social and cultural construction increased. State capital investment resulted in the commissioning of housing with a total area of 57.5 million square meters or 14% more than the corresponding period of last year. A number of measures to raise wages were implemented, and social consumption funds increased.

At the same time, there continue to be serious shortcomings in the work of many USSR ministries and departments and of union republic councils of ministers to fulfil the tasks set for the current year. This has a negative effect on the development of the national economy as a whole. The produced national income in January-September 1987 grew by only 2.4%. Public-sector labor productivity rose by 2.5%, and industrial output grew by 3.6%, which is below the 1987 plan.

The USSR Government noted that the failure to fulfill many targets of the state plan for the country's economic and social development had created a tense situation in the operation of the national economy in remaining period of this year. The USSR Council of Ministers demanded that USSR ministries and departments, union republic councils of ministers, and standing bodies of the USSR Council of Ministers take exhaustive measures to fulfil the targets set for the fourth quarter and for 1987 as a whole. Here it was stressed that in order to fulfil the plan for the year, there must be an increase of no less than 4.4% in industrial output in the fourth quarter, against 3.9% according to the plan.

Considering the fact that the country's economy is entering the most difficult, winter, conditions of operation, USSR ministries and departments and the union republic councils of ministers have an obligation to assume strict supervision over the completion of preparations of housing, utilities, and energy installations for the autumn-winter period, and to take full account of the miscalculations made last year.

The country's national economy is now in the decisive stage of restructuring. At every level of economic management, full consideration should be given to the peculiarities of next year, when enterprises and associations producing 60 percent of all industrial output are to adopt the principles of financial autonomy and self-financing, when the provisions of the USSR Law on the State Enterprise (Association) are to come into force, and when the sphere of the application of state acceptance of output is to be expanded. The particular significance of 1988 consists in the fact that the stable operation of the national economy and a higher pace of its development than in the first 2 years of the 5-year period must be ensured. The average annual indicators of economic growth must exceed the tasks set by the 5-year plan for this year.

The USSR Council of Ministers determined specific measures for eliminating shortcomings in the operation of the branches of the national economy, for improving their financial position, and for refining their foreign economic activities.

The sitting also examined the matter of the progress achieved in fulfilling the decision of the CPSU Central Committee and the USSR Council of Ministers on the development of cooperatives and individual labor activity by the population. Instructions have been given to the Bureau of the USSR Council of Ministers for Social Development, the USSR Ministry of Finance, and the councils of ministers of the union republics, to examine matters that have arisen with the setting-up of cooperatives and ensue from the practice of their operation, and to prepare and put forward appropriate suggestions to the USSR Council of Ministers.

Comrades Vorotnikov, Slyunkov, and Talyzin took part in the work of the sitting of the USSR Council of Ministers. Nikolay Ivanovich Ryzhkov spoke at the sitting. The report on the sitting of the USSR Council of Ministers will be published in full in the press.

## Resolution on Banking Reform Published

*PM230700 Moscow SOBRANIYE POSTANOVLENIY PRAVITELSTVA SSSR: OTDEL Russian No 37, 1987 pp 779-789*

[CPSU Central Committee and USSR Council of Ministers Resolution No 821, dated 17 July 1987: "On the Improvement of the Banking System in the Country and Boosting Its Effect on the Enhancement of Economic Efficiency"—passages in boldface as published]

[Text] The CPSU Central Committee and USSR Council of Ministers note that the fundamental restructuring of the economic mechanism, now under way in line with the decisions of the 27th Party Congress and the CPSU Central Committee June (1987) Plenum in order to implement the party's economic strategy at the present stage of the national economy's development, demands a radical restructuring of the finance and credit system.

The effect of finance and credit policy on raising production efficiency, strengthening economic accountability [khozyaystvennyy raschet], and observing a resource-saving regime has declined considerably in the last period of economic development. The banking system has become extremely unwieldy, and it pays insufficient attention to the specific nature and features of sectors and economic spheres.

Credit levers and incentives have virtually ceased to perform the functions of an instrument for the management of expanded reproduction and for the monitoring of the rational utilization of production potential and resources. The flawed practice of granting credits without proper economic justification, using these credits to cover the losses and long-term financial shortfalls of associations, enterprises, and organizations which fail to meet plan targets and tolerate economic mismanagement, became widespread. Payments discipline and the situation as regards money circulation deteriorated. The channels of money circulation became clogged with surplus payment funds, and this created complications as regards the achievement of balance between physical commodities and finance in the economy.

The inadequate efficiency of the effect of credit and money relations was largely the consequence of major shortcomings and omissions in the work of the USSR Gosbank, the USSR Stroybank, and the entire financial system. The organization of credit and payments still fails to meet the demands of the present stage of economic development and the principles of full economic accountability [khozyaystvennyy raschet] and self-financing, nor does it take into account the progressive avenues for improving the economic mechanism in the economy's sectors or the changes in investment policy and the management of national economic complexes. In conditions whereby the basic economic activity and the investments of associations, enterprises, and organizations are organically interlinked, the provision of finance and credit facilities by different banks restricts the efficiency of the new economic mechanism.

Banking institutions do not display proper activeness in the implementation of measures linked with the renewal of the production apparatus, do not exercise sufficient efficiency and flexibility in solving questions of credit and payments services, and their activity is not concentrated on enabling associations, enterprises, and organizations to achieve the best possible end economic results.

The work of USSR Gosbank and USSR State Workers' Savings Banks institutions in providing services to the population fails to meet the population's growing demands. Unsatisfactory and incomplete use is made of new, advanced methods of credit and cash services for citizens.

A major restructuring of the entire credit system is needed in order to raise the role of credit and restore its full power to actively influence the country's economic life.

In order to fulfill the CPSU Central Committee June (1987) Plenum decisions on the implementation of a radical reform of economic management, implement the tasks of accelerating the country's socioeconomic development, activate commodity-money relations for these purposes, and considerably enhance the role of credit and money circulation, the CPSU Central Committee and the USSR Council of Ministers resolve that:

1. It is necessary to enhance the role of credit and money circulation in the task of implementing the party's economic policy, and to intensify their effect on the dynamic and balanced development of the national economy and on the enhancement of its efficiency in close interlinkage with the solution of social problems, an improved balance between material-commodity and value proportions of social reproduction and the money income and expenditure of the population, and the stepping up of state plan and contract discipline. Credit

is to be transformed into one of the most important instruments ensuring the organic inclusion of commodity-money relations in the mechanism for the economy's plan management.

The banks' credit resources must be concentrated primarily on the development of science-intensive sectors and economic complexes determining scientific and technical progress, the encouragement of production capital renewal, and the implementation of major national economic programs.

2. There must be a fundamental change in the orientation and forms of the activities of banks, which must be made more responsible and must become active and interested participants in the restructuring of the economy's management. Central and local banking institutions must actively pursue a line aimed at the acceleration of scientific and technical progress, the organization of new and advanced forms and methods of economic management, the transfer of associations, enterprises, and organizations to full economic accountability [khozraschet] and self-financing, the expansion of their socialist enterprise, and the enhancement of economic responsibility for the achievement of high end results.

3. With a view to intensifying the banks' effect in accelerating the country's economic development and strengthening the links between the credit mechanism and the end results of expanded reproduction, it would be expedient to reorganize existing banks and set up new specialized banks, taking into account the specific features of the activity of national economic complexes, the solution of major social tasks, and the fuller satisfaction of the population's needs for credit and payments services, by creating a banking system structured as follows:

USSR State Bank (USSR Gosbank);

USSR Bank for Foreign Economic Activity (USSR Vneshekonombank);

USSR Industrial Construction Bank (USSR Promstroybank);

USSR Agro-Industrial Bank (USSR Agroprombank);

USSR Bank for Housing and Municipal Services and Social Development (USSR Zhilsotsbank);

USSR Workers' Savings and Consumer Credit Bank (USSR Savings Bank).

4. USSR banks must base their activities on the principle of general economic interest in and responsibility for efficient use of credit facilities and to ensure high economic results by associations, enterprises, and organizations.

With due consideration for specialization, the main avenues and spheres of USSR banks' activities in the country's national economy are laid down as follows:

The **USSR Gosbank** implements centralized plan management of the country's money and credit system and pursues the state's unified credit policy, coordinates the activities of USSR banks and organizes payments between them, ensures the organization and consolidation of money circulation and the cash performance of the state budget, and participates in the formulation of the country's consolidated foreign currency plan. The USSR Gosbank also provides credit, finance, and payment services for enterprises, organizations, and institutions in nonproduction sphere sectors;

The **USSR Vneshekonombank** ensures the organization of and makes payments for export-import and noncommercial operations, provides credit facilities for associations, enterprises, and organizations engaged in foreign economic ties, monitors the fulfillment of the consolidated foreign currency plan and the thrifty use of the country's foreign currency resources, and performs operations on international foreign currency and credit markets and operations involving foreign currency in cash and negotiable instruments.

The pursuit of a progressive credit policy, the enhancement of the efficiency of the entire system of credit facilities for basic activities, finance and credit for capital investment, and the implementation of necessary payments are assigned to:

the **USSR Promstroybank** in industry, the construction industry, transport and communications, and the USSR Gossnab system;

the **USSR Agroprombank** in the country's agro-industrial complex;

the **USSR Zhilsotsbank** in housing and municipal services, consumer services, social and cultural building, economic activities subordinate to local soviets, and the sphere of cooperative and individual labor activity;

the **USSR Savings Bank** ensures the organization of the savings system in the country, clearing payments and cash services for the population and, whenever necessary, for organizations and institutions, the placement and redemption of state loan certificates, and credit facilities for citizens' consumer needs.

5. The most important tasks of USSR banks are:

to radically improve the credit mechanism and bring it in line with the demands posed by the restructuring of national economic management;

to provide economic incentives via credit facilities and other banking system levers for the achievement of high end results in the activity of all links of the national economy;

to make broad use of credit resources in order to accelerate scientific and technical progress and increase the output and sales of consumer goods and the provision of paid services to the population;

to comprehensively consolidate money circulation and boost the stability and purchasing power of the Soviet ruble, to step up monitoring of the consumption of wages funds and the observance of normative correlations between average wage and labor productivity growth rates, and to improve cash services for the national economy and the population;

to organize and widely apply the most economic and advanced forms of credit facilities and payments helping to speed up settlements and the turnover of circulating funds in the national economy, and to prevent any unjustified growth of the stocks of commodity and material assets;

to ensure more rational use of the state's loan funds and to step up responsibility for the utmost mobilization of credit resources;

to consolidate payments, financial, and credit discipline in the national economy and to monitor its observance;

to enhance the efficiency of capital investment finance and credits and to assist in accelerating the commissioning of production capacities and projects of the social and cultural sphere's material and technical base;

to improve foreign currency finance and credit payment relations with foreign countries and to participate actively in building up the country's foreign currency resources and developing production for export, with priority being given to the expansion of cooperation with socialist community countries;

to apply and develop at the local level new types of bank deposits and credit facilities and advanced forms of payment, credit, and cash services for citizens, and to expand clearing payments between trading, municipal, consumer service, and other organizations for goods and services;

to improve the style and methods of work by the banking system apparatus and to develop initiative and creative activeness, as well as businesslike efficiency and responsibility for work assigned;

to raise the standards of the management of banking activities on the basis of expanding the use of modern organizational and technical equipment and automated management systems in banking operations;

to exercise monetary control over the economic and financial activity of associations, enterprises, and organizations.

It will be impermissible for local organs to interfere in the activity of banking institutions in the sphere of credit, finance, and payments by means of instructions and demands incompatible with their charters or other normative acts.

6. The USSR Gosbank's role as the country's main bank must be enhanced in ensuring centralized plan management of the money and credit system, unified policy in the sphere of foreign currency operations, the coordination of banks' activities, and performance of the functions of a unified emissions and payments center and organizer and coordinator of credit relations within the national economy.

It is to be laid down that the USSR Gosbank elaborates consolidated credit plans and plans for the distribution of resources and credit deposits among USSR banks on the basis of indicators of the draft state plan for the USSR's economic and social development, the USSR state budget, and draft plans of the USSR specialized banks, and submits them for approval by the USSR Council of Ministers.

It would be expedient to ensure active participation by the USSR Gosbank and other USSR banks in the elaboration of the state plan for the USSR's economic and social development and the formulation of the commodity export and import plan and the country's consolidated foreign currency plan.

The USSR Gosbank, jointly with USSR banks, must be given the right to compile on a uniform methodological basis lists, mandatory for all USSR banks, of projects qualifying for credit facilities, terms on which credits are granted and repaid, credit facility concessions, measures of credit influence on borrowers, and conditions for their application, and to lay down rules governing payments and the conduct of cash operations in the national economy, procedures for record-keeping and accounting in banks, and—in coordination with the USSR Gosplan and the USSR Ministry of Finance—rates of interest to be charged for the use of credit facilities. The USSR Gosbank must coordinate the work done by USSR banks to improve the methodology, organization, and practice of credit planning in conditions of growing independence in the economic activity of associations, enterprises, and organizations and expanding rights for the soviets of people's deputies.

The USSR Gosbank is to retain the rights already vested in it in the sphere of setting official exchange rates for foreign currencies in terms of Soviet rubles, maintaining ties with other countries' central banks, and solving other questions of foreign economic activity within its terms of reference.

7. A USSR Council of Banks is to be set up for the purpose of implementing state policy in the sphere of money circulation and credit and solving tasks concerning the improvement of banks' activity on a uniform methodological basis. The council in question is to be a coordinating organ which examines draft consolidated credit plans and progress in their fulfillment, as well as the most important problems concerning the strengthening of money circulation and the improvement of credit and payment relations within the national economy.

The USSR Council of Banks is to be headed by the chairman of the USSR Gosbank Board. The council's membership is to comprise the chairmen of the boards of USSR banks, and representatives of other central economic departments can also be appointed to it.

8. Each USSR bank will set up a corresponding republic bank at union republic level directly subordinate to the USSR bank's head office; a bank office at autonomous republic, kray, or oblast level; and, whenever necessary, a bank branch at city or rayon level. In the event that local bank branches are not set up, credit and payment services will be provided by offices of the USSR Gosbank or other USSR banks on the basis of correspondent relationships or through local agents.

Republic banks will enjoy the rights of union republic ministries.

9. USSR banks are to build credit relations between banks and the associations, enterprises, and organizations on the basis of strict observance of statewide interests and of credit principles—plan targeted nature, material security, time limit, repayment, and charges in respect of credit facilities—and must make broad use of fundamentally new forms of credit relations.

It is laid down that all questions concerning the planning, availability, and repayment of credit facilities and the reduction or increase of interest charges are resolved by associations, enterprises, and organizations with local banking institutions on the basis of credit agreements setting out the sides' reciprocal obligations and economic responsibility.

Banking institutions must study in depth the financial situation of associations, enterprises, and organizations applying for credit facilities, must assist by all means the development of their initiative and economic enterprise. must not allow any trivial interference in their production activity, must eschew multiplicity in types of loan and the terms on which they are granted, and must simplify the system and enhance the efficiency of credit facilities.

It will be impermissible to apply credit facilities to cover the costs of long-term financial shortfalls, economic mismanagement, or losses by associations, enterprises, and organizations. No new credit facilities are to be granted in the event of systematic breach of loan repayment terms.

The USSR banks pay associations, enterprises, and organizations interest regarding sums from their production, science, and technology development funds, social development funds, and other funds for similar purposes on temporary deposit as part of credit resources.

Interest payments are to be introduced regarding credit resources attracted from other banks in order to enhance the USSR banks' responsibility for the rational utilization of credit facilities.

10. In order to boost the effect of interest policy on the economically accountable [khozraschetnyy] interest of associations, enterprises, and organizations and to enhance their responsibility for the efficient use of credit resources, the USSR Gosbank, in coordination with the USSR Gosplan and the USSR Ministry of Finance, is to expand the differential bands of interest charges for credit facilities depending on the use to which they will be put (planned, above-plan, or unforeseen requirements) and on the prompt repayment of credits.

Leaders of local bank institutions are to be given the right to reduce or increase these interest charges within the set charge limits and depending on the extent to which associations, enterprises, and organizations observe the plan limits for commodity and material asset stocks, accelerate the circulation and maintenance of circulating capital, and perform their credit repayment obligations to the banks.

11. In order to enhance the efficiency of banks' credit policy and fundamentally improve the methods of their work, the USSR banking system is to switch to the principles of full economic accountability [khozraschet] and self-financing.

It is laid down that the main indicator of the results of banking institutions' activity is profit which, according to long-term economic normatives, is used to form funds for production and social development and for material incentives, and from which payments into the centralized funds of republic banks and USSR banks are deducted. Resources from economic incentives funds are channeled into financing measures for the development and strengthening of the material base, the acquisition of modern computing and organizational equipment for banking institutions, the construction of projects for production and social purposes under their jurisdiction, and the material incentives for workers.

Bank offices at autonomous republic, kray, or oblast level are to be considered the basic economically accountable [khozraschetnyy] link in the USSR banking system.

Within a 3-month period, the Commission for the Improvement of Management, Planning and the Economic Mechanism is to lay down norms to be used by the USSR banking system in the formation of economic incentives funds in 1988-1990 and procedures for their

use taking into account the specific features of activity and the ceilings on deductions payable into the centralized funds of republic banks and USSR banks.

12. In order to expand the opportunities available to associations, enterprises, and organizations to solve the tasks of accelerating scientific and technical progress, USSR banks will be authorized to grant, in addition to credit facilities for specific measures, long-term credit facilities for organizing the manufacture of new output through the entire cycle from scientific research developments and the creation of experimental prototypes to series production. The repayment of such credit facilities is to be financed from the fund for production, science, and technology development.

In the event of poor economic efficiency in projects involving the retooling, reconstruction, and expansion of existing production units, USSR banks are authorized to request ministries and departments to provide a state expert commission's opinion on larger project schemes. Should such expert opinion prove that plans are not in line with the latest achievements of science and technology, banks can suspend the finance and credit facilities for such projects until progressive solutions are introduced in the plans.

13. In the context of the growing importance of payments discipline and prompt and full settlement in the conditions of new economic management methods, it is laid down that all payments from the accounts of associations, enterprises, and organizations, including budget contributions and wages payments, are to be made in chronological order based on the date on which payment documents are received by the banks (due date of payments).

In the event that associations, enterprises, or organizations are short of their own resources to make payments regarding products (services, works) and are not entitled to obtain bank credit, superior organs may allocate them resources from the corresponding centralized funds and reserves subject to repayment. In the event of a shortage of such resources, these economic management organs may obtain bank credits.

Local banking institutions can declare insolvent associations, enterprises, and organizations which systematically incur losses and are erratic in making payments to the budget, banks, and suppliers (such action to be notified to the main suppliers of commodity and material assets and publicized in the press), and can transfer such associations, enterprises, and organizations to a special credit and payments regime. Whenever necessary, USSR banks, jointly with the USSR Ministry of Finance, are to submit for examination by USSR ministries and departments and union republic councils of ministers any proposals for the winding up or reorganization according to established procedures of any associations, enterprises, and organizations persistently failing to eliminate the aforementioned violations.

14. Union and autonomous republic councils of ministers and soviet ispolkoms must give more attention to questions of consolidating money circulation and ensuring unconditional balance between the money income and expenditure of the population. For this purpose, it is deemed necessary:

to approve balances in the population's money income and expenditure as part of state plans for union republics' economic and social development;

to approve cash plans for union and autonomous republics, krays, oblasts, cities, and rayons;

to ensure measures to accelerate the rate of production growth, expansion of the range of high-quality consumer goods, and development of the services sphere;

for banking institutions to actively promote the setting up of cooperatives for the production of consumer goods and provision of various services to the population and other cooperatives, individual labor activity, and the development of enterprises' economic initiative in using credit facilities to implement effective measures to increase the manufacture of consumer goods and provide paid services to the population.

15. USSR banks must play a greater role in the creation of conditions for the broad introduction of foreign currency self-capitalization and self-financing in the national economy.

The USSR Vneshekonombank must channel its activity toward meeting the credit facility requirements of foreign economic turnover, ensuring thrifty and rational use of foreign currency funds, increasing the profitability of banking operations, and improving the quality of services rendered by the banks.

Priority in the implementation of credit payment and foreign currency operations must be given to resolving the tasks of expanding the country's export potential, improving the structure of the export and import of goods and services, increasing foreign currency revenues, and ensuring balance in the payment and accounting relations with foreign countries, and assistance must be given in the development of new forms of economic cooperation with foreign countries.

It is necessary to step up the orientation of credit and finance activity toward ensuring the deepest economic integration with socialist community countries, primarily toward the development of direct scientific and technical cooperation ties and the creation of joint enterprises and international associations and organizations on the basis of the principles of economic accountability and mutual advantage.

16. USSR banks and their local institutions must implement urgent measures to eliminate shortcomings in the work with cadres, improve the style and methods of

work, raise demands as regards the selection, training, and education of cadres and the qualifications and professional training of workers, and improve the conditions of their labor and daily life.

17. Union republic communist party central committees, party kraykoms, obkoms, gorkoms, and raykoms, union and autonomous republic councils of ministers, and krayispolkoms, oblispolkoms, gorispolkoms, and rayispolkoms must give the utmost assistance in further enhancing the banks' role in implementing the tasks of the country's economic and social development and transforming them into active vectors of the party's economic policy.

M. Gorbachev, secretary [as published] of the CPSU Central Committee

N. Ryzhkov, chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers

## Abalkin on Individual Labor, Sufficiency

*PM211335 Moscow TRUD inRussian9 Oct 87p 2*

[Second, final part of interview with L.I. Abalkin, director of the Institute of Economics and corresponding member of the USSR Academy of Sciences, by V. Golovachev: "A Time of Decisive Changes"; first paragraph is TRUD introduction; passages in boldface as published]

[Text] Today we conclude the publication of a conversation with L.I. Abalkin, director of the Institute of Economics and corresponding member of the USSR Academy of Sciences. The first part (*Trud* 6 October) dealt, in particular, with problems of the development of economic competition and the management of enterprises, ministries, and regions under the new conditions.

[Golovachev] Leonid Ivanovich, the editors receive many letters relating to individual labor activity. Sometimes officials are afraid that someone will earn a great deal....

[Abalkin] Yes, many people now are interested, basically, in the question of how much people will earn from individual labor activity or in a cooperative. We are indeed fond of counting the money in someone else's pocket. And yet it is important to ask: Does this suit people or not? Does it accord with their interests and ensure better satisfaction of needs? But not: How much will he earn?... The real functions become displaced. But the purpose, nevertheless, is to make services high-quality services, in keeping with **individualized** requirements. I do not want to wallpaper an entire apartment in a new block just to the usual standard, I want to do it in a special way. And I am prepared to pay for the extra service. Why prevent this?

It is clear that we must struggle **not against large incomes but against unearned incomes**. It is not a question of whether someone makes a lot or a little. There is just one question—whether he makes it in accordance with his labor or, if you like, his talent. If this talent serves people and life becomes better and more joyful for everyone as a result, then society must not spare the means.

Let me observe, incidentally, that an analysis of unearned income conducted by our institute led to an unexpected result. Research showed that the chief channel for obtaining unearned income is not individual labor activity, nor the sphere of cooperative production, nor even speculation, but work in the state sector of the national economy. **Unearned** money that is written out for idle time, for an unfulfilled volume of work, for production of low-quality output, for deviations from various norms for expenditure of material resources... Colossal sums are paid out not in accordance with labor.

[Golovachev] Tens of millions? Billions?

[Abalkin] Billions. And we have somehow shyly bypassed these questions. We have huge above-norm stocks of unmarketable goods, footwear, clothing, and fabrics produced by state enterprises, for which wages and frequently also bonuses have been paid out. And this too, strictly speaking, is unearned income.

So, let people earn a lot, but honestly and according to their deserts. This is socialism. And we must erect a barrier to unearned income, speculation, moneymaking, and use of other people's labor.

[Golovachev] Hired labor?

[Abalkin] Yes, hired labor. But not only that. Sometimes it is possible to get rich, for example, by exploiting... one's own children. This danger does, unfortunately, exist. Serious questions—social questions—can arise with the family contract. We have not yet felt them to the full.... In my view, it is important to set a limit here. We cannot allow our sons and daughters to be deprived of the joy of childhood and the possibility of receiving an education and good physical development, can we? Yes, they must be involved in labor, be brought up from childhood in the traditions of labor, and know the value of the earned ruble. Yes, that is fine. But only so long as this does not undermine the health of the future person, the harmonious nature of his development, and the breadth of his outlook. Here there are some subtle social things that we are now beginning to be aware of and to feel for ways to resolve. And, of course, there are not yet answers to all the questions. But we must not permit such distortions....

[Golovachev] But take agriculture: How are seasonal workers to be qualified—as hired labor, or not?

[Abalkin] There are problems here that need to be considered. You see, there are different situations. For example, individual labor activity, a cooperative. If a

cooperative attracts people for temporary work—by all means. Within the framework of a cooperative this can still in no way be regarded as an element of hired labor.

[Golovachev] There is some control on the part of the cooperative....

[Abalkin] Yes. The cooperative is the top boss. Any chairman or leader is an elected person subordinate to the collective. A leader does not dictate terms but, on the contrary, fulfills the will of the collective. It is a question of collective reason, the collective resolution of questions.

In this respect the question of individual labor activity is more complex. Here someone is a production organizer and is not under the control of a cooperative. If such a person, let us assume, invited someone to do temporary work, a certain relationship would arise between them—that of boss and, let us say, nonboss. A relationship of definite economic dependence. This is a more subtle question. Therefore, in addition to cooperatives, we are widely developing the family form. Kinship ties operate here, and the state cannot interfere in the internal organization so long, I repeat, as this does not harm the children and there are no other negative phenomena. As regards hired labor, here we must look at and analyze the validity of decisions of this kind and the economic expediency and think of the possible consequences. Deformation "away from socialism" would be dangerous....

[Golovachev] We are speaking of individual labor activity and cooperatives. But how real will their contribution to the economy be? Not so long ago I happened to hear in respectable departments that these innovations will have no substantial influence on the economy and should not be taken seriously. Is that so?

[Abalkin] I do not believe that any ministry or department has a monopoly on the truth today. And these assessments must also be treated accordingly.

This is how things stand. For a long time our ideas were based on the premise that socialist society's progress and movement toward communism were linked, in the final analysis, with the simplification of economic and social life. Everything was being standardized and simplified, it was said. There was movement away from complex forms of economic life toward simpler, standardized forms. The transition from small enterprises to large ones was like a straight line. The gradual squeezing out of cooperative forms of ownership... And we eliminated producers' cooperatives—of course, it is clear today that we were in too much of a hurry when we proclaimed that this was almost tantamount to a major step on the way to communism. This was also manifested in agriculture.

Today we realize that that was wrong. There are Leninist thoughts to the effect that social progress means movement away from the simple toward the complex. That is, the increasing complexity of social life and the growing diversity of the forms of its organization.

Evidently, many assessments which were made at first at the State Committee for Labor and Social Problems and the Gosplan, as well as by scientists, were still based on those old ideas. But now we realize that new forms can be something very important. And in spheres such as consumer services for the population and the organization of public catering. You can imagine a very substantial increase in the share of the cooperative sphere here.

Of course, metallurgy, machine building, the chemical industry, and railroad transport will always be concentrated in the hands of the state and of major associations. But in spheres that are close to the population (repairs to apartments, car servicing, photography, and so forth) new forms will enjoy wide development.

[Golovachev] But how many difficulties are arising at present....

[Abalkin] True. I was vacationing in the Crimea and reading the local newspapers, and a serious problem has arisen there. Some owners of private cars set up a cooperative. It was no longer just individual labor activity, and they had risen to being a cooperative. But the city authorities, acting according to the old methods, decided to subordinate that cooperative to the taxicab pool. And they at once ruined the business. The question is now being raised of setting up an autonomous cooperative, which is to be governed by the local soviet, but not by the departmental sectorial organization. The same thing is being observed in the consumer services sphere—an attempt to subordinate all to the local organs of the Consumer Services Ministry. This is tantamount, I believe, to nothing but discrediting the idea.

It was possible to foresee this. All restructuring is a process of struggle. There cannot be a revolutionary process of transformations without struggle, without clashes of interests.

[Golovachev] A very important aspect of the economy's restructuring is its influence on people's living standards. There are several questions in this connection. Why, readers ask, for example, are oblasts treated differently: One is given more funds, say, for meat products, while another is given less?

[Abalkin] It is not a question of funds at all. And it would be more correct to ask ourselves what the oblast's labor collectives are doing to resolve the problem. In general, there must be a real reorientation in public consciousness, at all levels—from bottom to top. People must stop complaining about Moscow and call to account those people locally who must be responsible for resolving the question. We are switching to a new system of supplying

food products. The idea here is this. An oblast delivers a certain product, say, that same livestock product, to a centralized fund in accordance with approved indicators. And everything in excess of that is at its disposal....

Take Omsk Oblast, for example, which certainly does not have the most favorable weather conditions. It is entirely self-sufficient in meat. And I will remark that it consumes meat at the rate of 80 kg per head of population, not 62 kg, as in the union as a whole. This is the effect of the Omsk experiment in self-sufficiency. But neighboring oblasts are already beginning to point their finger and demand that some be taken away from the people of Omsk Oblast and given to them. Why not share, as it were, with Krasnoyarsk, say, where there are far fewer products? But that would be wrong, for they must work for themselves. And they must not complain to Moscow but call leaders of local organs more strictly to account. Why have people in that oblast been unable to achieve the same as in Omsk Oblast?

After settling with the state, products remain at the oblast's disposal. If you like, channel them into public catering or, if you like, into cooperative trade. If you like, sell fresh milk or, if you like, turn it into cheese, which uses up a lot of milk—this is your right. But work and earn. A capacious word has now appeared—in addition to self-recoupment, self-financing, and self-management there is also **self-sufficiency**. And there is great meaning behind this.

[Golovachev] But there is, after all, a certain specialization. Grapes, for example, do not grow in Smolensk.

[Abalkin] Produce potatoes, if you please, and exchange them for grapes in Central Asia. They are your stocks, and you yourselves can do what you like with them. But, all in all, you yourselves must basically provide your food. You exchange food for food. And it has been proven (incontestably) that both the Far East and Khabarovsk Kray possess such resources that they can feed themselves in full, I repeat, in full. That is what self-sufficiency means. We have virtually no region, with the possible exception of the Far North, that could not resolve this task.

And there is a host of interesting examples. In many cities, for example, you cannot buy a chicken at any time, while Minsk is awash with chickens. Or take the problem of fresh cucumbers and tomatoes. In Ufa you can buy them practically all year round. But in Moscow? Well, you yourself know.

[Golovachev] What should be the scale of a region with regard to self-sufficiency—the oblast, the rayon?

[Abalkin] I still think that the oblast should be the primary large complex of such a kind. Or a republic without oblast divisions. Because it is a complex matter to bring this system down to the rayon level.

[Golovachev] Many readers place special emphasis on the need to see restructuring through to the end. Some even write that they do not believe in restructuring....

[Abalkin] Before replying, I would like to note the following. Readers' letters are not always an adequate reflection of public opinion. This is my personal opinion, and I ask you to publish it. It is not always possible to judge the public mood in the country from readers' letters. It is frequently embittered and dissatisfied people who write. At the same time, the most vigorous section of the population, the working class, and engineering and technical personnel writes less and does more. They speak openly in their own collective and raise urgent questions. This is why public opinion is not always expressed through letters.

[Golovachev] A very debatable thesis....

[Abalkin] But I may voice my opinion, you know! Particularly as I am convinced of it....

Now to get down to the point. Some people think: Regardless of how we work, everything will be done of its own accord.

That is not so. Therefore I can speak of the need to create the conditions—political, social, economic, and spiritual—which must ensure the unconditional fulfillment of the charted course. These conditions are multifaceted and embrace all aspects of our life. They must also include the unconditional development of democratic principles, include elections, glasnost, and the systematic accountability of state and economic organs to voters, the working masses, and collectives. It also includes the consistent observance in the social sphere of the principles of the earned nature of income and the struggle against all kinds of unearned distribution. The removal of artificial limits holding back the growth of income according to the results of labor. The enhancement, as a whole, of the legality of all actions, and the allocation of the loftiest role to the law.

Finally, there is also the elimination of economic illiteracy. If we go over to self-management, we must know economics. Because we cannot manage unless we are competent, for follies are easily committed. There is now a colossal demand for economic knowledge. But it has to be provided in a digestible form, starting with the secondary school and ending with broad universal economic education. This, too, is one of the compulsory conditions.

I must also mention the expansion of statistical information and its objectivity. In general, conditions are taking shape and work is proceeding in the right direction. And, as these conditions are created, there will be increasingly reliable preconditions for ensuring that we do not stop halfway but see through to the end what we have begun.

[Golovachev] Today we turn increasingly frequently to history. Is research being conducted into the history of economics?

[Abalkin] There are many serious omissions here. And yet this is very important—the history of economics, the history of reforms, the reasons for their successes and failures. For example, today we do not have a scientific analysis of the period of the economic councils. We have different assessments. Some people see the positive aspects, while others see the negative aspects. But we do not have an objective, strictly scientific analysis. It is not that it has not been published. It just does not exist.

This also applies to the development of the economy in the Stalin period and later periods. What was bad and what was good? And how bad, and how good? All this requires research.... Now answers are very frequently given emotionally, under the influence of personal experience of life and that of one's parents.

And yet a scientific analysis is required on any question. As well as in determining the prospects, for example. Give us glasnost and democracy, people say, we will transfer everyone to economic accountability [khozraschet], and success is ensured. But we need an analysis of this process, of the pluses and minuses. For example, the development of economic accountability and self-management of the labor collective. Is there not a danger, in addition to the tremendous pluses, in the fact that the collective will be oriented toward its immediate interests, toward securing the quickest return? Will it not turn out that, guided by its immediate interest, the collective will not invest money in the fundamental, long-term directions which will produce an effect in 5-10 years? And will a leader who is elected every 5 years think about the long term?

Or let us take the ministry. I believe that it should not be economically accountable. It should not be dependent on current results. And it should not be involved in setting quarterly targets. The ministry should be held accountable not for this but for the existence of a program for bringing the sector up to world standards. Closing enterprises, creating new ones, placing orders with institutes to develop some more sophisticated technologies and progressive systems.... The ministry must think about this, about the future. But it should not, I believe, be economically accountable for this.

In order to have a clearer picture of the future, we must have a good knowledge of the past. But we do not even have good textbooks. The textbook and science have recently diverged seriously. When people judge the state of economic science from textbooks, this paints a very primitive picture of what science has really accumulated.

Incidentally, science has worked for the past 20 years on what we are now implementing in practice—wholesale trade, normative methods, full economic accountability, cooperative farming. This does not mean that it is free from shortcomings, for it has many of them. But groundwork had, nonetheless, been done, and it has very quickly been used up. We must now think about new groundwork and look ahead. The transitional period will end, and we will have created a certain model by 1990, but we will have to go further....

In-depth research is needed, including the interpretation of past experience. There was a time, and not so long ago, when decisions were adopted, including at the Academy of Sciences, to cut back on historical research, and entire subdepartments were abolished. Historical research was perceived as a departure from modern problems. And yet it is all the other way round: Turning to the past is a means of overcoming isolation from life.

I would put it still more definitely: It is possible to judge the maturity of the social sciences from the state and the depth of elaboration of historical problems and from the level of historical research.

And when we say that economic science today is in the same state as the other social sciences, it is this vagueness and failures in interpreting historical experience that are the indicator, the criterion, the symptom, the litmus paper. Turning to history is a means of seeing the future.

[Golovachev] And a final question. Which problems are of concern to you personally, Leonid Ivanovich?

[Abalkin] The acute lack of time and cadres. The institute has many vacancies, and I am looking for economists all over the country, but I cannot find any suitable for resolving a particular task. This, incidentally, also characterizes the state of economic science in the recent past....

But these are particular questions. On the whole, I would like to say that we are living in interesting and fine times. Restructuring and revolutionary renewal always promote the creative upsurge and activation of the broad masses. It depends on each one of us to make this process irreversible....

## Winter Fuel Supply Preparations Begin

*PM230945 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian*
*9 Oct 87First Editionp 1*

[Editorial: "On the Eve of Cold Weather; Ensuring a High Degree of Readiness for Fuel and Power Facilities for Winter Operations"]

[Text] The early cold weather has emphasized the question: "How do matters stand today regarding the accumulation of fuel supplies for the winter?" On the whole, targets for extracting coal, oil, and gas are being fulfilled ahead of schedule and this means that a base is being created for the national economy's stable operation in the winter period. There is every possibility of avoiding interruptions in the delivery of fuel to the population.

That is in general. The CPSU Central Committee resolution "On Progress in the Preparation of the National Economy for Work Under Winter Conditions" notes that the level of organization, the amount and, in particular, the quality of the work performed for this purpose are giving rise to serious concern. The leaders of a number of ministries, enterprises, and organizations and some local party and soviet organs have not drawn the necessary conclusions from the errors permitted last year. In a number of departments and locally they often assess preparation for the winter according to mean indicators and they paint a glossy picture of all being well.

The lag in the preparation for winter of housing and municipal facilities in the Kalmyk and Chechen-Ingush ASSR's and Sverdlovsk and Magadan oblasts is worrying. They have been slow in repairing heat supply systems in Murmansk Oblast, Gorkiy, Tselinograd, and a number of other cities and villages. The situation must be remedied in the remaining days and weeks.

The railroads are now going through a busy period. In a number of regions the green light has been given for fuel shipments. But if additional targets are taken into consideration, the Ministry of Railways is not coping with the transportation of coal—remaining quantities of coal in the pit depots in September exceeded the norm by more than 10 million tonnes. Fuel brought to the surface by the miners' strenuous labor is not only lying like dead weight but is sometimes wasted through spontaneous combustion. Meanwhile supplies of coal at power stations are less than last year's. The slow replenishment of supplies of coking coal at enterprises at the USSR Ministry of Ferrous Metallurgy gives cause for concern.

This year, miners as a whole have been keeping within the car stoppage norm. About 1.8 million freight car hours have been saved. But other facts exist alongside this—through the fault of coal enterprises losses of loading resources since the beginning of the year are over tens of thousands of freight cars. The good thrifty rule—prepare the sled in the summer—has been forgotten at many enterprises of the USSR Ministry of Ferrous Metallurgy and Ministry of the Petroleum Refining and Petrochemical Industry, which have not prepared the storage facilities and sidings for winter. But the vulnerability of the economic support system has led to emergency situations, as has happened more than once in recent winters. Tracks got covered with snow, freight froze, and enriching factories and power stations were on hunger rations because of obstructions on the railroads.

Economic planners of many enterprises, learning from bitter experience, have made every effort to ensure that they start the winter with the track and storage facilities in good order. But not all have kept up the pace. In many cases they have been let down by subcontractors. As before, the delivery of sleepers for sidings is lagging behind. There is an acute lack of spare parts for metallurgical workers repairing diesel locomotives. The USSR Gossnab has allotted only meager funds for diesel-generator apparatus in short supply for manufacturing snow-clearing machinery.

Work on the construction of many important facilities which must be commissioned before the advent of the frosts is lagging behind. The Ministry of Construction in the Northern and Western Regions of the USSR has performed only a third of the work on extending the shed for thawing out coal at the Cherepovets Metallurgical Combine. The Ukrainian Ministry of Construction permitted a serious lag in the construction of winter shelters in Yenakiyevo and Makeyevka. At these facilities, according to the client's data, only 20-40 percent of the work has been carried out.

In *Pravda's* mailbag there are many letters from local areas with complaints that it is difficult to store coal, wood, and briquets for the winter. The situation is particularly bad with regard to supplying fuel for the families of railroad workers. The CPSU Central Committee resolution severely reprimanded the USSR Gosplan and Gossnab for not taking the necessary measures to completely supply the inhabitants of a number of regions, particularly villages, with high-quality coal and logs. The leaders of coal and timber sectors together with other interested departments have been instructed to make good the lack of fuel for the population by saving it in production. In addition, from 1 January 1988 the norms for delivery of fuel to the population will be increased.

The new capacities whose commissioning is planned for the current year should increase the country's power potential. But work is lagging behind at a number of power industry priority projects, including the Khmelmitskiy AES, the Berezovskaya and Gusinoye Ozero GRES's, and the Novosibirsk, Volga, and Astrakhan TETS's. The USSR Ministry of Power and Electrification, the Ministry of Nuclear Power Generation, the Ministry of Installation and Special Construction Work, and the Ministry of Construction in the Southern Regions of the USSR are obliged to take urgent measures to supplement the manpower for power industry priority projects, to step up their provision with equipment, and to supply construction materials and structures. By 1 November a package of additional measures for the good-quality repair of equipment at power plants and TETS's and heat supply systems must also be implemented. The CPSU Central Committee has instructed republic, kray, and oblast party organs to give effective assistance to the power industry and power construction workers in fulfilling urgent work before the arrival of winter, including through the possible attraction of workers and specialists from other enterprises and organizations.

The most important question is the saving of energy resources. The prime cost of fuel is growing. It is more advantageous to put resources into advanced energy-saving technology than into increasing the extraction of

oil, coal and gas. Targets to save energy resources have become an integral part of the state plan. At the same time the stereotype of the free consumption of energy resources has not been overcome. "Saving" by means of increased norms has not been eliminated at enterprises in a number of ministries.

Under conditions of full economic accountability [khozraschet] and self-financing the habits of the period of extensive economy will cost more. Until the USSR Law on the State Enterprise comes into force, the drive belt of the "cost-based mechanism" will carry on in the old way. That is why control over the strict fulfillment of electricity consumption limits must be firm. Party committees, the people's control, and workers collectives must put up strong barriers against squandering of energy resources in each plant shop, sovkhoz or kolkhoz, in transport, and in municipal services. It is essential to support the policy of thrift with economically accountable [khozraschetnyye] incentives. In domestic life too we should use electricity, water, and heat in homes more thriftily.

The level of the country's economic development is also determined by a significant indicator like the per capita consumption of energy resources. The USSR occupies a prominent position for this indicator. The labor of many generations and colossal material and financial resources have been invested in the fuel and power complex. One of the aims of restructuring is to learn to use the wealth of our country's energy potential wisely, carefully, and thriftily.

Forming high standards for the consumption of energy resources must be at the center of the entire educational work of party, trade union, and Komsomol organizations and the system of the economic education of the working people.

## CPSU Notes Gold Prospecting Abuses

*PM231251 Moscow SOTSIALISTICHESKAYA INDUSTRIYA in Russian 11 Oct 87 p 1*

[Unattributed account: "At the CPSU Central Committee"—"On the Article 'You Didn't Dream It!' published in SOTSIALISTICHESKAYA INDUSTRIYA 13 May 1987"]

[Text] A resolution adopted by the CPSU Central Committee pointed out that the article "You Did'nt Dream It!" published in *Sotsialisticheskaya Industriya* 13 May 1987 correctly raised the questions of serious shortcomings in organizing the work of gold prospecting artels. The newspaper's critical comments did not aim to discredit the prospecting artels but to remove distortions in the practical activity of this cooperative form of labor organization.

Leaders of the USSR Ministry of Nonferrous Metallurgy, confining themselves to repeated assurances that they will eliminate the existing shortcomings in the organization of the extraction of gold and other metals involving prospecting artels in accordance with the demands of the resolutions adopted by the CPSU Central Committee and the USSR Council of Ministers on these questions and being satisfied with the overall positive economic results from prospectors' extraction, are not drawing the appropriate conclusions and are not taking the necessary measures to establish proper order in the prospecting artel's activity.

The USSR Ministry of Nonferrous Metallurgy and leaders of gold mining associations and enterprises tolerate the fact that the Statute On Prospectors' Extraction of Minerals in force is being violated. Often artels are assigned fields where working conditions are better than on state sites, yet extraction is carried out in many of the assigned mining sectors without observing nature protection legislation and with flagrant equipment violations, as a result of which above-normative metal losses are incurred. Flagrant violations of financial and economic discipline and democratic self-management principles in assessing artel members' wages continue to occur in a number of artels and citizens' rights are encroached upon. The necessary conditions for preventing gold theft, waste, and abuse have not been created on gold mining industry sites, particularly in prospecting artels.

Party committees and soviet organs in the localities have kept aloof from control over prospecting artels' activity. Primary party organizations are inactive in many of them. As a result prospecting collectives are taking shape in an uncontrolled fashion often on the basis of the principle of nepotism and connections. Dishonest, unworthy people who do not meet the stated requirements for professional qualities or education are joining the artel leadership in a number of instances.

The USSR Prosecutor's Office and the USSR MVD are only feebly directing the activity of law enforcement organs in uncovering and putting a stop to criminal manifestations in the gold mining industry and often confine their activity to the notification of faits accomplis.

The CPSU Central Committee has drawn the attention of the USSR Ministry of Nonferrous Metallurgy collegium to the lack of discipline displayed in executing CPSU Central Committee and USSR Council of Ministers resolutions on the effective organization of prospectors' extraction of gold and other precious metals and has demanded that exhaustive measures be taken to radically rectify the shortcomings in this matter. It has been proposed that an end be put to the superficial leadership of prospecting artels and that a detailed investigation be conducted into the activity of each one of them and that steps be taken to ensure that this is a truly cooperative form of production organization based on democratic principles and principles of justice in assessing artel members' wages. It has been proposed that a detailed investigation be carried out into cadres selection and

above all into selection of a leadership capable of organizing the collective to fulfill targets while taking into consideration modern requirements.

The USSR Prosecutor's Office (Comrade Rekunkov) and the USSR MVD (Comrade Vlasov) have been charged with resolutely improving the activity of law enforcement organs under their jurisdiction in preventing crimes and other violations of legislation in the gold mining industry. And they have been charged with putting an end to delays, ensuring the prompt exposure and investigation of instances of law violations, and taking effective measures to stop instances of embezzlement and abuse in this industrial sector.

The Kazakhstan Communist Party Central Committee, Krasnoyarsk and Khabarovsk kraykoms, and Amur, Irkutsk, Magadan, Sverdlovsk, Chita, Komi, and Yakutsk CPSU obkoms have been ordered to step up party control over the formation and organization of prospecting artel work, cadre activity, the creation of the necessary production and daily living conditions for them, and the resolute halting of embezzlement, waste, and abuse on gold mining industry sites and to enhance the role of the primary party organizations in this matter.

The USSR Gosplan, USSR Ministry of Nonferrous Metallurgy, USSR Ministry of Finance, USSR Ministry of Justice, the USSR Prosecutor's Office, and the USSR MVD have been charged together with local party and soviet organs and other interested departments with elaborating and putting forward for examination by the USSR Council of Ministers proposals to improve the organization of cooperatives' extraction of minerals.

## Agricultural

### Deputies Discuss Draft Farming Plans

*PM231313 Moscow SELSKAYA ZHIZN in Russian 13 Oct 87 p 2*

[Special correspondent A. Chupakhin report: "Deputies' Strong Demands"]

[Text] The difficult struggle for the harvest is still going on in fields throughout the country. Unfortunately, the results of this struggle are not to farmers' satisfaction everywhere. The caprices of nature are the tangible cause of this. They are the factor most often cited in alarming reports on sodden grain, tubers left in the fields, and so forth. It is the same old story, but this fall it has been used even more than usual. This fact particularly alarmed deputies belonging to the USSR Supreme Soviet preparatory commission on the agro-industrial complex, who gathered in Moscow to discuss the indicators of the State Plan for Economic and Social Development for the coming year and progress made in fulfilling this year's plan.

The discussion was preceded by a great deal of preparatory work by the deputies, so they were able to discuss the reports and communications with a thorough knowledge of the real state of affairs.

The late ripening of agricultural crops and the early fall rain in the greater part of the country's territory are nothing unusual, the deputies said. So why does our agricultural equipment not live up to expectations in unfavorable climatic conditions? When will industry get around to providing farmers with reliable machinery?

The question was addressed directly to representatives of the Ministry of Tractor and Agricultural Machine Building. It was answered by Deputy Minister G.S. Kirichenko. Admitting the justice of the criticism, he told deputies that there are plans to produce more than 100 new machines and take approximately 50% of obsolete equipment out of production in 1988 and also that the series production of equipment for intensive techniques is about to begin. At the same time, he assured them that there is going to be a "cardinal improvement in the technical standard and quality of these products."

"We have had enough assurances like these," Nikolay Vasilyevich Sinelnikov, Supreme Soviet deputy and chairman of the "Kolos" Kolkhoz in Orenburg Oblast, observed in this connection. "But we still have to run a fine toothcomb over equipment produced by enterprises under the Ministry of Tractor and Agricultural Machine Building when it reaches us. But even this kind of 'finishing off' does not protect us against frequent breakdowns. The productivity of structurally flawed machinery and mechanisms is extremely low. But on the other hand, the cost rockets with every new modification."

The subject touched on by N.V. Sinelnikov came up in speeches by a number of commission members. The question of prices was also raised with A.I. Iyevlev, first deputy chairman of the USSR State Agro-Industrial Committee.

"We do not agree with price hikes if there is no evidence that the new machine is more productive than its predecessor," A.I. Iyevlev replied. "What is more, as you well know, price formation is about to undergo radical reform."

Judging by the reaction of the commission members and the fact that they kept coming back to the subject of prices, deputies were not satisfied by these explanations.

"We rural workers," Deputy N.V. Sinelnikov, chairman of the kolkhoz in Orenburg Oblast, pointed out in conversation with me, "are constantly reproached for the subsidies, premiums, and credits that we receive... We produce what I believe to be the most important commodity—food—but we are always being blamed for something. Someone is always doing us favors for which we are supposed to be eternally grateful. The peasantry do not need someone to generously help them out; they

need fair purchase prices. We are not in favor of high prices, but we would like them to be equivalent to the prices we pay when buying products from industry."

Discussing the draft plan for 1988, on which reports were delivered to the commission members by P.A. Paskar, first deputy chairman of the USSR Gosplan, and V.M. Semenov, USSR deputy finance minister, deputies devoted particular attention to the current economic situation in the agro-industrial complex.

"It would appear from the reports," Deputy Y.S. Stroyev, first secretary of the Orel CPSU Obkom, said, "that there are plans to reduce price markups for low-profit and loss-making farms next year. This reduction has not been justified, in our opinion. It will have an adverse effect on the profitability of kolkhozes and sovkhozes."

He went on to cite figures confirming this opinion, taking the example of increased costs for livestock products mainly being the result of higher prices for mixed feed. For example, in sovkhozes across the country the prime cost of hog weight gains has risen by 7.4% in 3 years, and by 10% in kolkhozes. Calculated per quintal, this weight gain costs approximately R12. What is more, one has to add another R2 of increased depreciation allowances and greater outlays on construction. Hog breeding has become unprofitable as a result.

"Unfortunately," the deputy concluded, "the State Agro-Industrial Committee has avoided this problem in its remarks on the draft plan. What is more, the format of farms' annual reports does not even include a section where prime production costs are analyzed in a breakdown of outlays. This just leaves the wages indicator, as if these are the only expense! If we seriously want to make the transition to economic accountability and self-financing, we must not simplify our approach to this by a stroke of the pen."

The preparatory commission's work was very intense. Deputies discussed the situation in agro-industrial sectors in great detail and listened to reports from officials, frequently nonplussing highly experienced specialists with their specific questions. Many serious complaints were made to the chiefs of the State Agro-Industrial Committee. Many of these complaints were not answered very convincingly. Why, for example, are poor quality fruit and vegetables sold? How can one explain the fact that, having integrated the production, procurement, storage, processing, and sale of these products, the State Agro-Industrial Committee has failed to regulate their supply to the population? How could it happen that, having spent millions of rubles in gold on acquiring imported equipment for the dairy and canning industry, this industry has nevertheless become a dead weight over the years?

The last of these questions was raised very sharply by Deputy Vitaliy Dmitriyevich Zabolotniy, chairman of the Kirov Kolkhoz in Voronezh Oblast.

"By purchasing equipment for projects not included in the plan and not backed up by planning and budgetary documentation," he said, "the State Agro-Industrial Committee is directly in breach of state plan discipline."

In particular, he mentioned a cheese-making unit at the Pochinok Creamery in Smolensk Oblast for which hard currency was used to buy very expensive equipment, although construction of the enterprise was not included in the plan, as well as equipment bought for the Kurganinsk Cannery at a cost of R2 million 3 years ago but still not used.

By freezing funds and modern equipment in this way, State Agro-Industrial Committee organizations are further exacerbating the bad technical condition of the processing industry.

Representatives of the USSR Ministry of Machine Building for Light and Food Industry and Household Appliances also had to listen to many impartial remarks in this connection. The technical standard of most of the equipment manufactured by its enterprises falls considerably short of that of its foreign equivalent.

Deputies also discussed the state of affairs at enterprises' subsidiary farms and city dwellers' rural plots and orchard and truck garden cooperatives and ways to improve them. The preparatory commission will submit its conclusions on all problems discussed and on the 1988 draft plan for the agro-industrial complex as a whole to the USSR Supreme Soviet standing commissions for final examination and discussion at the forthcoming session of the country's supreme organ of state power.

## Final Stages of RSFSR Harvest Reported

*PM231415 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 10 Oct 87 First Edition*

[TASS special correspondents M. Prutkin, A. Urbantsev, and G. Khanov report: "Last Dash"; first two paragraphs are SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA introduction]

[Excerpts] The weather is still not making things easy for the farmer. That is why it is important now to take advantage of literally every fine hour to save the harvest.

Our TASS correspondents, who took part in a spot check on various regions in the RSFSR, talk about the final stage of the harvest.

Kurgan. About 1,519,000 hectares of grain have been harvested, and 76,000 hectares have not been harvested. [Passage omitted]

Tyumen. About 817,000 hectares have been threshed, and 61,000 hectares remain to be threshed.

The rain is the record holder in the current busy period in Tyumen Oblast. According to the weather forecasters, weather as bad as September's has not been recorded for more than 100 years. It should be admitted that the farmers in the oblast were not ready for this.

Today snow fell in the southern regions, yet 61,000 hectares of grain and 543 hectares of potatoes still have to be harvested, and feed has to be prepared. [Passage omitted]

There is no doubt among Tyumen farmers that the grain will be completely harvested. According to the leaders of the Agro-Industrial Committee, 4-5 days of work remain, but the position is very difficult: They are 100,000 tonnes short of seeds. The preparation of the ground for next year's harvest is now in full swing. About 60% of the fall plowing has been completed.

Kirov. Less than 1% of grain remains to be harvested. [Passage omitted]

### Media Report Agricultural Developments for 22-23 Oct

LD240644 [Editorial report] The following is a compilation of reports on agricultural developments in the USSR carried by Moscow Domestic Service in Russian, unless otherwise indicated, on 22-23 October. GMT times of broadcasts are given in parentheses at the end of each item.

22 October

Rice harvesting is coming to an end in Tajikistan, where total production in 1987 is expected to amount to 27,400 metric tons. (0304)

Potatoes have now been lifted from 2.6 million hectares. Sugar beets have been harvested from 2.9 million hectares. (0400)

Procurement stations have now received 5 million metric tons of raw cotton. This is 20% less than at this time last year. Over 9 months, over 38,000 metric tons of above-plan cotton were produced. But the pace of production is slower than that of the same period last year. (0400)

Rice harvesting is coming to an end in Krasnodar Kray, a major producer of rice. The kray produces about two-thirds of all the rice grown in the RSFSR. According to the local agro-industrial committee, rice has now been harvested from about 90% of the area allocated to its production. (0500)

In Stavropol Kray more than 1 million tonnes of hay have been delivered to date. (1200)

Moscow Oblast has dispatched over 610,000 metric tons of grain to procurement points, and more than 1.366 million metric tons of potatoes have been marketed. The plan target for grain was only 444,000 metric tons (1800) 23 october

Uzbek growers have honored their fruit and vegetable production pledges. They have despatched 1 million metric tons of produce to other parts of the country. (0100)

The winter-crop sowing plan has been fulfilled in Kazakhstan. Wheat for grain has been sown on 2.4 million hectares. It is mainly the Bezostaya-1 strain which is being sown, but a considerable area has been sown to a new strain (Karlagash) selected by the Kazakh Farming Institute. A yield of 70 quintals per hectare has been achieved at farms in Kurdayskiy rayon, Dzhambul oblast. It is being sown in southern oblasts of the republic. (1200)

Tonne No 1 million of raw cotton has been picked in Turkmenistan, which is 100,000 tonnes more than procured by the same time last year. (1200)

Kursk Oblast farmers today fulfilled socialist pledges for sugar beet sales to the state; 3.63 million tonnes have been sent to processing works. (Moscow Television Service, 1300)

Harvesting has finished in Latvia. So far, 72% of autumn fallow has been ploughed. Vegetables have been harvested on approximately one-fifth of the sown area. (1430)

## Scientific

### 'Mir' Cosmonauts Continue Mission Projects

*LD231300 Moscow TASS in English 1153 GMT 23 Oct 87*

[Text] Moscow October 23 TASS—Yuriy Romanenko and Aleksandr Aleksandrov are continuing their space mission aboard the *Mir* orbiting platform.

They have spent much time performing experiments with the use of equipment incorporated into the specialized module Kvant (Quantum) and doing several studies of astrophysics objects in different wave length bands every day.

Using an ultra-violet telescope called Glazar, for example, the spacemen today will photograph the supernova in the large Magellanic cloud as well as individual parts of the Crane and Keel constellations. Besides, they are to observe an x-ray radiation source in the Swan constellation under the Roentgen program.

Their program for the day also provides for biological experiments to determine optimum conditions for cultivating higher plants in space green-houses, as well as scheduled maintenance work on individual on-board systems.

Romanenko and Aleksandrov have a day off tomorrow. They will do some hygienic cleaning in their living quarters and will also be able to talk to their families by means of radio and television hookups.

Both cosmonauts are feeling well. The flight is proceeding normally.

### Growth in Role of Nuclear Power Foreseen

*LD261106 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1005 GMT 26 Oct 87*

[Text] Moscow, 26 Oct (TASS)—The construction of a nuclear power station with a fast-breeder reactor has been started in the USSR. Andranik Petrosyants, chairman of the USSR State Committee for the Utilization of Atomic Energy, told a TASS correspondent that this major power-generation facility, which is being erected in the Trans-Urals area, is intended to have an electric power capacity of 800 megawatts.

"Precisely this kind of reactor is to become the basis of the new family of Soviet nuclear power stations, the unit capacities of which will reach 1,600 megawatts," the chairman of the state committee said.

Despite a number of accidents that have occurred in recent years at nuclear power stations in various countries, Andranik Petrosyants considers pessimism about the future of nuclear power generation to be unwarranted. The abilities of present-day science and technology permit a high degree of reactor safety. Reactor efficiency is very attractive. By burning 1 gram of uranium it is possible to obtain the same amount of heat as is produced by 1 metric ton of coal. The prime cost of electric power at the majority of the world's nuclear power stations is noticeably lower than at thermal power stations of the same capacity.

Andranik Petrosyants stressed that the share of nuclear power generation in the USSR's power balance will rise steadily. This is dictated not merely by growing demands for electric power in production and every-day life. Nuclear installations also have a promising future for the production of heat. A new direction linked with the use of nuclear fuel for the centralized provision of heat for cities is now being developed in the USSR. "The industrial potential of the USSR makes it possible to increase substantially the present volume of nuclear power station construction, Petrosyants said. However, we regard the harmonious development of power-generation capacities as being of paramount importance, giving due attention to power stations of other types, too."

## BRIEFS

### Antarctic Expedition Begins

The 33d Soviet Antarctic Expedition has begun. The first group of workers has already been delivered to Molodezhnaya station. Aeroflot will transport 770 polar workers and thousands of tonnes of vital cargo to the continent. The expedition members will be working over a huge area of nine south polar seas and at six permanent and three seasonal stations in various parts of the Antarctic. [Summary] *[Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1100 GMT 23 Oct 87 LD]*

## Military

### Warships To Visit Split 26-30 Oct

*LD231400 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1326 GMT 23 Oct*

[Text] Moscow, 23 Oct (TASS)—In accordance with an agreement, a detachment of Soviet warships, comprising the large antisubmarine ship *Komsomolets Ukrainy* and the destroyer *Nakhodchivy* will pay an official friendly visit to the Yugoslav port of Split from 26-30 October. The visit will be headed by Vice Admiral A.A. Kuzmin, first deputy commander of the Black Sea Fleet.